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ABSTRACT

The four periods discussed in this publication cover the patterns of Spanish emigration to the New World, mainly on the regional level and in terms of percentages. The effects of this emigration on the various Spanish American dialects are discussed. In the initial period (1493-1519), the largest single group, in every year and on all major expeditions, were the Andalusians, of whom over 78 percent came from the two provinces of Sevilla (58 percent) and Huelva (20 percent). In the second period (1520-1539), the conquests on the mainland greatly increased the number of destinations the emigrant could elect. During this period, Mexico failed in only one year (1527) to attract over 50 percent of the emigrants. A chain of 4 provinces (Sevilla, Badajoz, Caceres, Toledo, Salamanca, and Valladolid) accounted for slightly over half of all emigrants to the New World, with Seville furnishing one out of every six men and half of all the women. In later periods (1540-1559 and 1560-1579), there was a sharp reduction in the proportional emigration to Santo Domingo, Central America, and the Rio de la Plata; Mexico, Peru, Chile, and the Nuevo Reino de Granada were emerging as almost invariable destinations. Between 1560 and 1579, roughly three out of every four emigrants came from the southern half of the Peninsula and 28.5 percent were women. (NQ)

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PATTERNS OF SPANISH EMIGRATION TO THE NEW WORLD (1493-1580)

by

Peter Boyd-Bowman

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INTRODUCTION

These four articles on XVI Century Spanish emigration to the New World are in fact merely introductory remarks and statistical material, translated into English, taken from the first four of my five-volume Indice geobiográfico de 40,000 pobladores españoles de América en el siglo XVI (IGB). Two of these volumes have already appeared (1964, 1968), the other two, though completed, are as yet unpublished. The fifth and final volume, which deals with patterns of emigration between 1580 and 1600 and brings the actual total of emigrants listed to over 54,000, is targeted for completion in 1974. Each of these reference works spans a twenty-year period of emigration and furnishes abbreviated biographical data on each of the several thousand first-time emigrants of that period for whom I found birthplaces in Spain or in other parts of Europe. Subsidized at different times by the Guggenheim Foundation, the ACLS, and the Research Foundation of State University of New York, this and its related research project LASCODOCS (Linguistic Analysis of Spanish Colonial Documents), have as their primary objective that of establishing a firm historical basis for the origins of the different dialects found in American Spanish today. Since LASCODOCS is described briefly in the last of the present articles, I will not mention it further here. Suffice it to say that both of these long-range projects are the fruit of several years of patient and systematic gathering of both historical and linguistic data from XVI Century archives, much of it documented for the first time by myself and teams of bilingual assistants working intermittently for 20 years. The Indice proper, furnishing as it does biographical data on thousands of individual emigrants, complete with indices of surnames, birthplaces, occupations, social status, and destinations in America, will hopefully become a standard reference tool for linguists, historians, and demographers interested in the beginnings of Spanish colonial society in the New World.

Peter Boyd-Bowman
S.U.N.Y. at Buffalo

March 1973

THE REGIONAL ORIGINS OF THE EARLIEST SPANISH COLONISTS OF AMERICA

How much the New World Spanish dialects owe to those of Spain has long been a subject for dispute among Hispanic scholars. Belief in the theory of Andalusian influence, based, as it is, largely upon seseo and yeísmo, has been seriously shaken by recent studies on the chronology and diffusion of these two phenomena, by more exact knowledge of the modern peninsular dialects, and by the hitherto available statistical studies on regional emigration to America.[1] But though statistical counts tend to show that during the sixteenth century as a whole no single region contributed an over-all majority of colonists to the Indies, claims are still made that individual parts of the New World were first colonized chiefly by settlers from this or that region of Spain. For example, Andalusians and Extremeños are generally credited with a major part in the colonization of Peru, but so far actual figures are lacking either to confirm or refute this.[2] Amado Alonso and Kaimundo Lida, while rejecting the theory of the Andalusian origin of New World dialects in general, concede that Andalusians probably did predominate during the first 30 years in the Antilles.[3] But Tomás Navarro, in his study of the Spanish of Puerto Rico, concurs with the belief of José Padín that that island's first settlers were principally colonists from Old Castile: again there have been no statistics.[4]

The striking phonetic contrast between the tierras altas and tierras bajas of America, with the latter sharing in general Andalusia's relaxed consonantal system, has been attributed now to a tendency among colonists to settle in those regions whose climate most nearly resembled the one to which they were accustomed (the climatic theory), now to the fact that coastal regions were often linked more closely by sea to other coastal areas than they were to their mountainous hinterlands.[5]

Such interesting theories, plausible though they may be, can never rise above the level of ingenious speculation until we have gathered more accurate statistical data not only on the regional origins of Spanish colonists of every part of America, but also on the chronology of their migrations. These data, accounting for some though of course not all of the factors that shaped the New World Spanish dialects, can furnish a sound historical basis for approaching numerous unsolved problems in the field of American Spanish linguistics, besides being of value to historians and sociologists in several fields.[6]

Data on regional origins are fortunately available to a surprising degree. The patient efforts of the directors of the Archivo de Indias in Seville

in publishing extant passenger lists, and the studies of Rubio, Henríquez Ureña, Aubrey Neasham, and Rodríguez Arzúa have yielded valuable results.[7] However, none of the latter exhausted all available sources and methods for determining regional origins, and none are organized to show periodic migration trends from individual towns and provinces in Spain to specific regions in the Indies.

Elaborating the work of these scholars, particularly that of the late Pedro Henríquez Ureña, whose manuscript notes and files are in my possession, and using a wide range of sixteenth-century Spanish and colonial sources, I have been able to establish with reasonable certainty the regional origin of some 40,000 colonists (men, women, and children) who came to the Indies prior to 1600. I would venture to guess that this figure represents, of the total number who emigrated during that time, almost 20%, which I am sure statisticians would consider a highly indicative sample.[8] The completed work will not only show migration trends from any village in Spain to any part of America, but will normally give abbreviated biographical data on each man, such as full name, parentage, place of origin, occupation, destination, marital status, year of passage, and movements and activities within America. The first part, on which this present study is based, lists both geographically and alphabetically those persons of known origin who were in the Indies between the years 1493 and 1519. It is during this critical initial period, when the Spanish colonial effort was mainly centered in the islands of the Antilles, that the earliest form of American Spanish must have developed.[9]

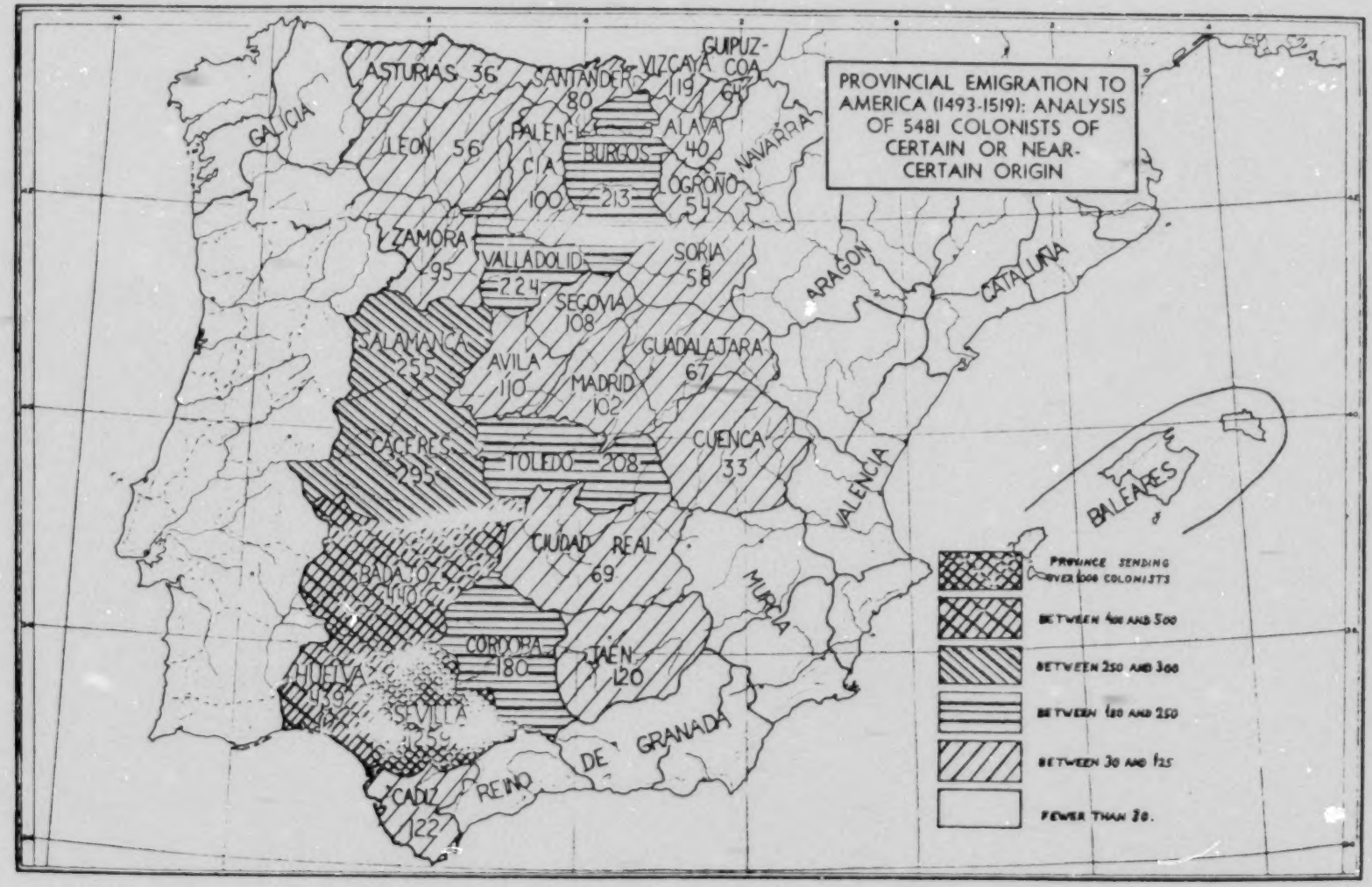
Linguistically important though it is to determine the speech habits of the earliest settlers, we must of course remember that a steady flow of new colonists and of fresh cultural stimuli (books, plays, fashions in dress and behavior, social, religious, and philosophical ideas) continued throughout most of the colonial period. However, Amado Alonso believes that Spain's linguistic influence on her American colonies, though it continued to be felt with diminishing effect until around 1650, was greatest in the early period, when the Spanish settlers were first adapting their speech to a common environment and beginning to level out their dialectal differences in response to a new social consciousness.[10] Now for the first quarter of a century following the settlement of Hispaniola, Spanish was restricted (except for one small foothold in Darien) to the islands of

the Antilles. From among the island colonists the members of the subsequent expeditions of discovery and conquest were largely recruited. By the time Spanish spread to large areas of the mainland it had already passed through an initial period of environmental acclimatization and dialectal leveling and was emerging as a distinctively New World brand, susceptible to the continuing influence of the peninsula, but distinctive nevertheless. Later individual colonists arriving in any New World colony probably tended to conform, within one or two generations, to the brand of Spanish they found already established there.

Though data are not nearly as abundant for the initial period as they are for the later flood of Spanish emigration to Mexico, Peru, and the other continental areas, I have identified the names and lugar de nacimiento or lugar de vecindad of 5,481 persons known to be in the Indies prior to 1520.[11] Many others, whose presence in the Indies prior to 1520 is possible but not certain, I have assigned to my next period (1520-40), which will be labeled "The Assault upon the Mainland." For the sake of brevity I will discuss trends mainly on the regional level and in terms of percentages.

The first incontrovertible fact I wish to make clear is that though the proportions changed in the following decades, in the initial or Antillean period by far the largest single group, in every year, and on all major expeditions, were the Andalusians, of whom over 78% came from the two single provinces of Sevilla (1259-58%) and Huelva (439-20%).[12] In fact of the 49 provinces these two alone furnished over 30% (30.9%) of the total number of colonists for the entire period. If we add to them just three western provinces, Badajoz (440), Caceres (295) and Salamanca (255) we have accounted for over half.

The other half is made up first of the Old Castilian provinces of Valladolid (224) and Burgos (213), the New Castilian province of Toledo (208) and the Andalusian province of Córdoba (180). Then follow in order Cádiz (122), Jaén (120), Vizcaya (119), Avila (110), Segovia (108), Madrid (102), Palencia (100), Zamora (95), Santander (80), then Ciudad Real (69), Guadalajara (67), Guipúzcoa (64), Soria (58), León (56), Logroño (54), and lastly, with between 30 and 50 each, Alava (40), Asturias (36) and Cuenca (33).


PROVINCIAL EMIGRATION TO AMERICA (1493-1519): ANALYSIS OF 5481 COLONISTS OF CERTAIN OR NEAR-CERTAIN ORIGIN
GALICIA
ASTURIAS 36
LEON 56
SANTANDER 80
VIZCAYA 119
GUIPUZ-COA 64
ALAVA 40
NAVARRA
PALEN-CIA 100
BURGOS 213
LOGROÑO 54
ZAMORA 95
VALLADOLID 224
SORIA 58
SEGOVIA 108
ARAGON
CATALUÑA
SALAMANCA 255
AVILA 110
MADRID 102
GUADALAJARA 67
CUENCA 33
CACERES 295
TOLEDO 208
VALENCIA
BALEARES
CIUDAD REAL 69
BADAJOZ 170
MURCIA
CORDOBA 180
JAEN 120
HUELVA
SEVILLA 125
REINO DE GRANADA
CADIZ 122
PROVINCE SENDING OVER 500 COLONISTS
BETWEEN 400 AND 500
BETWEEN 250 AND 300
BETWEEN 180 AND 250
BETWEEN 30 AND 125
FEWER THAN 30.

The rest of Spain, comprising Galicia, Navarra, Aragon, Cataluña, Valencia, Baleares, Murcia, the Canary Islands, and the recently conquered kingdom of Granada (Granada, Málaga, and Almería) contributed little or nothing.

From outside of Spain came 141 foreigners: 44 Portuguese, 61 Italians (mostly Genoese sailors and merchants) and 36 from other countries. With the possible exception of the Portuguese, the linguistic influence of these foreigners was nil. Many of them, however, lived in Seville before going to the Indies and may have learned Spanish in that city.

If we divide the Antillean period roughly into two halves, from 1493 to 1508 and from 1509-19, we find that in the first half Andalusia's share was 60% while Extremadura, the two Castiles, Leon, and the Basques contributed roughly 6% each and all other sources combined 11%.

But in the second half of the period (i.e., 1509-19) Extremadura, the two Castiles and Leon made substantial gains (Old Castile actually tripled its proportional contribution to 19%), while Andalusia, the Basques, foreigners, and the peripheral areas of Spain suffered proportional declines. Even so, Andalusia still led handsomely with a 37% share of the total.

It is a most significant fact that for the Antillean period as a whole more than one colonist in every three was an Andalusian, one in every five was from the province of Seville and one in every six claimed the city of Seville as his home town. In fact Seville with its suburb of Triana contributed more identified colonists during this time than the 14 next highest ranking towns combined, which are (in order): Palos (Huelva) 151, Toledo 101, Salamanca 88, Cordoba 84, Burgos 63, Badajoz 60, Moguer (Huelva) 56, Madrid 53, Medina del Campo (Vall.) 46, Jerez de la Frontera (Cad.) 45, Segovia 42, Cáceres 41, Avila 40 and Belalcázar (Cord.) 40. Total: 910, as compared with 958 for Seville and Triana.

Next in line come Valladolid 39, Ciudad Rodrigo (Sal.) 38, Cuéllar (Seg.) 32, Las Garrovillas (Các.) 31, Huelva 31, Jaén 31, Sanlúcar la Mayor o de Alpechín (Sev.) 31, Sanlúcar de Barrameda (Cad.) 31, Écija (Sev.) 30, Zamora 28, Lepe (Huelva) 27, Medellín (Bad.) 27, Mérida (Bad.) 27, Utrera (Sev.) 26, Carmona (Sev.) 24, Alconchel (Bad.) 22, Jerez de Badajoz 22, Palencia 22, Plasencia (Các.) 22, Toro (Zam.) 22, Baeza (Jaén) 21, Olmedo (Vall.) 21, Trujillo (Các.) 21, Llerena (Bad.) 20 and Soria 20.

Forty-three other towns contributed to my total with from 10 to 19 each. All but two - Granada 17, and Alcaraz (Murcia) 10 - were clearly within the confines of the Kingdom of Castile.

Puerto Rico. Up till 1509 virtually all colonists to the Indies settled in Santo Domingo, and it was from there that Spaniards undertook the conquest of the islands of Puerto Rico and Cuba. Puerto Rico was a small island and did not receive much of the Spanish colonial effort, which was largely directed westward. Of the conquerors of Puerto Rico and those who settled there in the first decade of the colony (1509-19) I have identified the names of 109. This figure, in an era when towns were often founded with fewer than 30 vecinos, may well represent upward of 25% of the total number of colonists at that time.[13] Of these 109, 45 (41%) were Andalusians (29 from Sevilla, 7 from Huelva). Then followed Old Castile with 21 (19%) and, curiously, the Basques, with 18 (16.5%), 10 of them from Guipúzcoa. New Castile (6), Extremadura (6), Leon (5) and the peripheral regions (Galicia 4, Asturias 3, Valencia 1, Aragon 1) account for the other 23.5%. In view of these proportions the idea that Puerto Rico's earliest settlers were principally Castilian is now clearly untenable.

Cuba and the conquest of Mexico. For Cuba and Santo Domingo I have no separate figures, inasmuch as Cuba was conquered by colonists from Santo Domingo and was in those days seldom mentioned as a separate destination. However, the conquerors of Mexico were recruited almost entirely from Cuba and of these first expeditionaries with Cortés and Narváez I have identified 743, or roughly a third. Let us examine their proportions. Once again Andalusia leads with 227 (30%), Old Castile is second with 150 (20%), Extremadura is third with 97 (13%). Cortes' home province of Badajoz (51) is beaten by Sevilla (109) and Huelva (72), even on his own expedition (Sevilla 54, Huelva 40, Badajoz 31), dispelling any notion that Cortes' army featured a large contingent from his native province.[14] Leon follows close behind Extremadura with a surprising 77 (10.5%), but more amazing yet is the unusually high proportion of Portuguese, Galicians and Asturians (58, or 8%), and of Basques (36, or 5%, mostly vizcaínos). Lastly there were 23 Italians and 14 of other nationalities.

Some interesting conclusions can be drawn from this. First, that the two Castiles contributed only a quarter of the early conquerors of Mexico, secondly, that the proportion of speakers of Western peninsular dialects

(gallego-portugués, asturiano, leonés, extremeño) was exceedingly large (31%), and thirdly, that when ships' crews participated in a conquest, as happened in this case after Cortés scuttled his ships, then the proportion of Basques, Galicians, and foreigners could be expected to jump, because they, together with the sevillanos and Huelvans, furnished almost all the sailors and pilots for the conquest of America.

Sailors. The famous carta of Eugenio de Salazar, written around 1573, described the jargon of those salty veterans of ocean crossings and the lasting linguistic and lexical effect that 40 days of listening to it would leave on landlubbers from the Castilian mesetas.[15] Especially in the Antillean period, when all communications were by sea, the sailor's koiné must have exerted a powerful influence on the speech of the rest.

The colony of Darien. Let us now consider the case of the small colony of Darien, on the Isthmus. When Pedrarias Dávila arrived in 1514 with his huge expedition of 1,500 men (700 of whom died within a year), he was met there by Balboa and the 515 who composed his colony. Of these 515 and others who were previously in Darien I have identified the origins of 146. No less than 83 of them, or more than all others combined, were Andalusians (41 from Huelva, 26 from Sevilla). After reading Oviedo we are not surprised to find the Basques leading the remainder with 15 (10%). Juan de la Cosa, Martín Fernández del Enciso, Martín de Zamudio, and Lope de Olano were all prominent figures, and Oviedo specifically tells us that they and their other clannish countrymen spoke vascuence among themselves.[16] Close behind come the two Castiles with 12 and 11, then Extremadura with only 10, this despite the fact that Vasco Nuñez himself was an extremeño.

If however we study the origins of the 244 I have identified as arriving with or after Pedrarias, i.e., between 1514 and 1519, then the picture changes considerably. Pedrarias, a grandee of Spain, brought with him "la más lucida gente que de España ha salido," including a large contingent from his native Segovia. Though Andalucía still leads, as always, with 30% (74), Old Castile's share triples to 26% (63) and New Castile and Leon gain also, thanks in part to the prestige of Pedrarias at the Court. But later in the century, when the trade route to Peru is well established, we shall find Panama's inhabitants composed predominantly of sailors and merchants from Seville fattening on the two-way trade with Spain and Peru.[17]

Emigration of women to the Indies (1509-19). Though women did come to the Indies in the first half of the Antillean period I have no separate data on female emigrants until 1509. But for the period 1509-19 I have made a subtotal of the women appearing in the Catálogo de pasajeros a Indias and have reached the following conclusions:

The women tended to come from large cities and all but a handful went to Santo Domingo, which was at that time the safest and most civilized Spanish colony. Except for the few cases of a wife's going out alone to join her husband, most of the women traveled in parties, generally in the company of their husbands, family, parents, or relatives. A few single women, mostly from Seville, went out as 'criadas,' a term which may have been a cover for something else.

Of the 308 women counted in this decade the town of Seville alone furnished over half. If we include the rest of the province the percentage rises to 57.5 and with the rest of Andalusia to two-thirds. The province of Badajoz contributed another 11.5%, Toledo 5%, Huelva and Salamanca 3% each, all others together 10.5%.

By regions, the breakdown is as follows: In the period 1509-19 Andalusia contributed 37% of all colonists but a staggering 67% of the women, Extremadura 16% of all colonists but only 12.5% of the women, Old Castile 19% but only 8% of the women, New Castile 9% of all colonists and 7% of the women, Leon 8% of all colonists but only 3% of the women. Except for a woman from Guipúzcoa in 1512 and one Portuguese woman in 1511 the Basques, with 4.5% of the colonists, and all other regions combined with another 7%, yielded no women at all.

Continually surrounded as they were by the Indian servants of their households, and no doubt lording it socially over the native wives and concubines that the majority of Spanish settlers had taken, these Spanish women of the initial colonial period must have exerted a linguistic influence far in excess of their numbers. Women have traditionally tended to play a conservative and stabilizing role in the history of a language. Conversation was no doubt even more of a woman's pastime in those days than it is today, and those Spanish women, of whom over half were sevillanas, must have played an important part in the development of the first Antillean dialect, envied and imitated as they were, both in speech and in conduct, by the more numerous Indian women of the island settlements.

Seville. No other town in Spain approached Seville in prestige or importance in the eyes of the colonists. A busy inland port, seat of the Casa de Contratación and natural center for recruiting and procurement, Seville was the base which furnished a steady stream of men, ships, and supplies for settling the Caribbean islands and exploring the coasts of the American continent. It was the adopted home of numerous merchants, moneylenders, shipbuilders, cosmologists, explorers, sailors and artisans born in other parts of Spain and even abroad, who would eventually pass over to the Indies as vecinos de Sevilla. At a time when other Spanish towns were still noted for their quiet dignity and conservative outlook, Seville was a fast-living, flamboyant, cosmopolitan city bursting with color and excitement, a wide open door to news and stimuli from abroad. On its streets mingled Portuguese, Venetians, and Florentines, Genoese bankers and merchants, Sicilian and Greek sailors, Basque sea-captains, Gypsies, Negroes, Mulattoes, Indian slaves, and soldiers and adventurers from every part of Spain. Each ship returning with its cargo of gold, pearls, spices, and other exotic merchandise brought news of distant loved ones to families and relations residing in Seville while awaiting their return. A study of the surnames of the city's vecinos reveals at this time a steady drift towards Seville of families from the outlying districts of Andalusia. As fast as sevillanos left for the Indies, other Andalusians moved in to settle in the city.[18] This dynamic and colorful metropolis made such a lasting impression on prospective emigrants temporarily residing there that by the time they sailed on some expedition or secured passage in the service of some employer, many of them had adopted Seville as their home and some had even married Sevillan girls.[19]

There are in all this important linguistic implications. In the sixteenth century the model for those who aspired to elegance of speech was unquestionably the speech of the aristocracy of Toledo; moreover, when the vice-regal courts of Mexico and Peru were established it is certain that these became two more cultural and linguistic foci propagating the language and letters of the Spanish court.[20]

But what is true for the sixteenth century as a whole is not true for the primitive Antillean period in America (1493-1519). Different circumstances call for different speech standards. Just as the speech of the

salon has no place in mining camps or army outposts (and vice versa), so in times of danger and violence it is not the refined manners of the court but the vivid speech and bold gestures of the veteran that excite the admiration of new recruits anxious to win acceptance.[21] In the early days of the conquest, Seville, as no other city, embodied the spirit of colonial enterprise and impressed its speech norms upon the would-be colonist. These speech standards continued to prevail on the long, dangerous transatlantic voyage and finally in the islands, where life to the new arrival must have appeared wonderfully strange and exotic. Acclimatization involved acquiring as rapidly as possible the speech, outlook, and savoir faire of the colonists who had preceded him. Since in the initial Antillean period every second or third colonist was an Andalusian, and since in addition almost all the sea captains, pilots, and sailors to whom the colonists looked for supplies and news from home were either born or domiciled in Andalusia, we can appreciate the enormous prestige enjoyed by Seville at this time.[22]

It is not my intention to discuss here just how the Castilian dialect of Andalusia may have differed in 1500 from that of Old or New Castile. The difference may have been negligible. My aim is rather to establish the fact that as far as emigration to America was concerned, it was the speech of Seville, not thatof Toledo or Madrid, which set the original standards.

How subsequent immigration and political or cultural developments transformed this original state of affairs (as they apparently did), is best discussed at the proper stage. It would be imprudent to attempt to predict the ultimate effect of linguistic conditions in the early sixteenth century upon those of the twentieth century, even in the Antilles, without considering factors that arose in the intervening period. Mine is simply a description of the linguistic state of affairs as I visualize it to have been, in the light of known facts, in one restricted area (the Antilles) during the period of history that preceded the large-scale settlement of the mainland.[23]

To sum up, we are justified in saying that no matter how the trend may differ in later periods, the first or Antillean period is clearly dominated in number, unity and prestige of colonists by the Andalusian provinces of Sevilla, and Huelva, and it is the insular Spanish koiné developed at this time, with its store of Antilleanisms, that was carried by island settlers to the mainland. The degree to which this pattern was altered by subsequent waves of emigration will be the subject of further study.

FOOTNOTES

1. Consult especially Tomás Navarro, Aurelio Espinosa (hijo), and L. Rodríguez-Castellano, "La frontera del andaluz," RFE, xx (1933), 225-378; Pedro Henríquez Ureña, El problema del andalucismo dialectal de América (Buenos Aires, 1932); Amado Alonso, "Problemas de dialectología hispanoamericana," in Vol. 1 of the Biblioteca de Dialectología Hispanoamericana (BDH), (Buenos Aires, 1930); and his Estudios linguisticos: temas hispanoamericanos (Madrid, 1953). The latter volume includes reprints of the following important studies: "La base lingüística del español americano," "Orígenes del seseo americano," "La ll y sus alteraciones en España y América," and "-r y -l en España y América."

2. See Pedro Benvenutto Murrieta, El lenguaje peruano (Lima, 1936), pp. 118-119; also Juan de la Riva-Agüero's introduction to Roberto Levillier's Audiencia de Lima (1549-64), (Madrid, 1922), tomo 1. "Andalucía y Extremadura plasmaron el Perú" (p. xvii), etc.

3. "...si Andalucía dio alguna vez predominio de conquistadores y colonizadores, eso tuvo que ser en los primeros tiempos, y justamente la América de los primeros treinta años se redujo al Caribe, y más concretamente, a las islas" (Alonso, Temas hispanoamericanos, p. 327).

4. See Navarro's introduction to his El español en Puerto Rico (Univ. de Puerto Rico, (1948). Says Padín, Rev. Est. Hisp., 1, 51, "Yerra tambien Mixer (en su libro Porto Rico, Nueva York, 1926) al hablar del origen andaluz del gíbaro (el campesino puertorriqueño). Casi todos los primeros pobladores que fueron a Puerto Rico procedían de las dos Castillas."

5. For a discussion of the climatic theory and the argument it provoked between the scholars Max Leopold Wagner and Pedro Henríquez Ureña, consult Wagner, "El supuesto andalucismo de América y la teoría climatológica," RFE, xiv (1927), 20-32, and Henríquez Ureña, Sobre el problema del andalucismo dialectal de América (Buenos Aires, 1932), pp. 121 ff., 129 ff.

6. The growth of the Spanish-American dialects has varied in each region with a number of factors, each of them important but none in itself decisive. These include: (1) the dates of conquest and the regional composition of the conquistadores; (2) the population density and cultural level of the conquered Indians; (3) the varying degrees of bilingualism and linguistic interchange arising from such results of the conquest as religious conversion, mestizaje, enslavement, extinction, the importation of Negroes from Africa; and (4) (something all too often forgotten) the contributions of subsequent waves of colonists and the amount of cultural contact throughout the colonial period with Spain itself.

7. Luis Rubio y Moreno, Pasajeros a Indias (Sevilla, 1917), published in Col. docs. inéds. para la hist. de Iberoamérica, Vols. VIII and XIII; Pedro Henríquez Ureña, pp. 1-118 (entitled Comienzos del español en América); Juan Rodríguez Arzúa, "Las regiones españolas y la población de América (1509-38)," Rev. Indias (Madrid, XXX (1947), 695-748; V. Aubrey Neasham, "Spanish Emigrants to the New World: 1492-1592," HAHR (1950), pp. 147-160. See also the articles by Juan Friede, "The Catálogo de pasajeros and Spanish Emigration to 1550," HAHR (1951), pp. 333-348, and "Algunas observaciones sobre la realidad de la emigración española a América en la primera mitad del siglo XVI" (Rev. Indias, Madrid, CLIX (1952), 467-496). Miss Vivian M. Gruber, apparently unfamiliar with the study by Arzúa, has in the Florida State Univ. Stud., No. III (1951), 1-7, a short note, "Peninsular Origins of Spain's First American Colonists," which sums up the tabulated figures of Henríquez Ureña, Neasham, Icaza, and (for Chile) Thayer Ojeda.

8. Angel Rosenblat's masterly study, La poblacion indigena de America desde 1492 hasta la actualidad (Buenos Aires, 1945), calculates that in 1570 there were 140,000 white persons living in the Spanish American colonies. How many of these were native-born criollos it is hard to estimate, but allowing for these on the one hand, and on the other for mortalities and continued immigration until 1600, I would suggest that slightly over 200,000 is not an unreasonable estimate of the total number of Spanish settlers up to the end of the 16th century.

9. For the Antillean period my chief sources of information were, besides the Catálogo de pasajeros a Indias (Sevilla, 1940, Vol. I), the 67-volume Colección de documentos inéditos de Indias (Pacheco, Cárdenas, Torres de Mendoza et al.) for which Ernesto Schäfer has compiled a valuable indice alfabetico de personas (Indice de la colección de documentos inéditos de Indias, Madrid, 1946, tomo I); the Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Iberoamérica, Vols. V, X, XI, XIV; José Toribio de Medina, El descubrimiento del Océano Pacífico (Vols. I and II, Santiago de Chile, 1913-14), which deals with Balboa and Pedrarias; Francisco A. de Icaza, Diccionario autobiográfico de conquistadores y pobladores de Nueva España, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1923), ; Alonso Dorantes de Carranza, Sumaria relación de las cosas de la Nueva España (1604), Mexico, 1902; Agustín Millares Carlo, Indice y extractos de los Protocolos del Archivo de Notarías de México, D.F., tomo I, 1924-28 (El Colegio de México, 1945); and the historians and chroniclers Bernal Díaz del Castillo, Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, Historia general y natural de las Indias, Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, Historia de las Indias, Juan de Castellanos, Elegías de varones ilustres de Indias, and Francisco López de Gómara, Historia de la conquista de México. For identifying place names in Spain, I used principally Pascual Madoz's monumental 16-volume Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de España y sus posesiones de ultramar (Madrid 1845-50).

10. See Alonso, Temas hispanoamericanos, "La base lingüistica del español americano."

11. I have chosen the year 1520 because with it starts a new phase in the Spanish colonization of the New World: the assault upon the mainland. With the opening up for settlement of Mexico, Venezuela, Central America, New Galicia, Peru, the Plate region and the New Kingdom of Granada, a flow of emigration began to those places that originated not so much in the Antilles as in Spain itself. However, the initial landings in Mexico by Cortés in 1519 and Narváez in 1520 may still be considered as terminating the preceding (Antillean) period, inasmuch as the members of these two expeditions were recruited entirely from among the island settlers.

12. The Kingdom of Granada, comprising the present-day Andalusian provinces of Almería, Granada, and Málaga, had at the dawn of the colonial period only just been conquered and was in many respects not yet part of Andalusia proper. The statistics for the Antillean period show this division very well:

Province	Colonists	Percentage
Seville	1259	58
Huelva	439	20.2
Córdoba	180	8.3
Cádiz	122	5.6
Jaén	120	5.5
Kingdom of Granada (Almería, Granada, Málaga combined)	54	2.4
Total for Andalusia	2172	100
The province of Sevilla's 58% share can be broken down as follows:		
The City of Seville	902	41
Triana, the sailors' quarter facing Seville across the River Guadalquivir	56	2.5
The rest of the province	301	14.5
Total	1259	58

13. Angel Rosenblat, p. 81, estimates that even as late as 1570 Puerto Rico's towns boasted a total of only 200 vecinos or 1,000 whites.

14. Not until a captain's fame had reached Spain did he attract to his standard large numbers of his paisanos. Later we may find an Hernando Pizarro and an Hernando de Soto depleting the towns of Extremadura with their irresistible call to seek fame and fortune in the Indies. (Out of 605 who followed de Soto on his ill-fated expedition to Florida in 1538 no less than 269 (44%) were from his native Badajoz, with 50 of these men from his native town alone!) But in the early period I must emphasize that this is not the case. Diego Velázquez, Ponce de León, Cortés, Ojeda, Balboa, Pedrarias, all commanded expeditions in which their compatriots were in the minority.

15. Cartas de Eugenio de Salazar, vecino y natural de Madrid, escritas a muy particulares amigos suyos, publicadas por la Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles (Madrid, 1866), pp. 35-37. See on this subject A. Alonso, Temas cit., pp. 63-67; also Berta Elena Vidal de Battini, "Voces marinas en el habla rural de San Luis," in Filología, (Buenos Aires), 1, 105-149.

16. Historia general ..., ed. Amador de los Ríos (Madrid, 1851-55), II, 473 ff.

17. M. M. de Peralta, Costa Rica, Nicaragua y Panamá en el siglo XVI, pp. 527-539, gives a "Sumaria descripción del Reyno de Tierra Firme, llamado Castilla del Oro, que está subjeto a la Real Audiencia de Panamá, por el Dr. Alonso criado de Castilla, Oidor decano de la misma. Nombre de Dios, 7 de mayo de 1575," which reads in part: "la ciudad de Panamá ... tendrá quatrocientas casas ... en que habrá quinientos vezinos, y de hordinario asisten ochocientos hombres poco más o menos. Es la gente muy política, todos españoles y gran parte dellos originarios de la ciudad de Sevilla. Es gente de mucho entendimiento; su oficio es tratar y contratar, ecepto quince o veynte vezinos que tratan los campos y viven de los ganados y hacienda que en ellos tienen. Es por la mayor parte gente rica .... En este pueblo está la gente con poco asiento y como de camino para passar al Perú o venir a España. Es mucho el comercio y trato desta ciudad, ansí de las cosas de España como del Perú por estar en medio de las dos mares del Norte y del Sur, y muy acomodada para las contrataciones."

18. For a description of Seville in the 16th century, see the historical work of Santiago Montoto, Sevilla en el Imperio (Siglo XVI) (Sevilla, 1938). Interesting documentary evidence may also be found in the Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla (Vols. V, X, XI, and XIV of the CDI) and in the 3 volumes of the Catalogo de Pasajeros a Indias.

19. Because some of the pasajeros a Indias would register as vecinos de Sevilla after residing in Seville for only 1 or 2 years, and since the location of the registry in Seville made registration easier for residents of Seville than for other people, I have made every legitimate effort to offset such statistical advantages. In the first place, the very incomplete Catalogo de pasajeros has been supplemented with numerous other sources, mostly colonial, in which Seville could not conceivably enjoy any statistical advantage. Next, though I have not attempted to differentiate them statistically, my files observe the following categories of identification: natural, vecino, hijo de vecinos, and hijo de naturales, identifications which sometimes by implication involve the family accompanying one so described. In general, the category natural takes precedence over all others. Seville has been stripped of several vecinos for whom I could find birthplaces elsewhere. Cases of dual vecindad (e.g., "vecino de Sevilla o de Lebrija") would on principle be decided in favor of the smaller town, the latter being the more likely origin in view of the general drift towards the big cities.

When in 1529 a royal decree authorized other Spanish ports to traffic with the Indies, it is probable that many northern emigrants then found it convenient to sail directly from Coruña or Laredo without registering in Sevilla, but in the Antillean period this had not yet become a disturbing factor.

Careful study of the surnames of registered pasajeros of known origin has revealed for the years 1510-19 a positive correlation of from 70% to 85% (average: 75.9%) between the town, province, or region of actual origin and 772 distinguishing appellations of the type Juan Rodríguez de Cuéllar, Alonso de Badajoz or Pedro Vizcaíno. This correlation is much higher for persons of humble or rustic origin than it is for persons of exalted rank or profession, as the former traveled little and some had no surname at all until they departed for America. The correlation is also higher for persons bearing the names of places located in the South, because during the course of reconquista and especially with the discovery of America the direction of migration of future colonists was almost invariably from north to south and not the other way. Discreet application of this correlation has permitted identification, with a high degree of probability, of certain very early cases where no other evidence may ever be available. But of the small percentage of control cases in which the correlation breaks down, nearly half involve legitimate sevillanos with surnames suggestive, however, of places outside Andalusia. This means then that in the few cases where persons have been identified only by their names, Seville has suffered a slight statistical penalty. But despite all these penalties and safeguards, Seville still emerges as incomparably the heaviest single contributor to the initial phase of Spanish colonial effort. Weighing all factors together I believe that my ratio of sevillanos to other colonists is, for the Antillean period, substantially correct.

20. For documentations of the superior prestige in the 16th and early 17th centuries of the courtly speech of Toledo, see esp. Amado Alonso's Castellano, español, idioma nacional. Historia espiritual de tres nombres (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Filología, 1938, and Buenos Aires: Losada, 1943 and 1949. See pp. 67-72 and 91-95 of the Losada editions). The speech of Andalusia, insofar as it differed from the then emerging national idiom, enjoyed considerably less prestige north of its own border than it does today.

21. Though it is true that a person's speech is originally formed by the environment in which he is raised, it can be altered partially or even completely by a new environment with which he may seek to associate himself for reasons of real or fancied prestige. Americans returning from England with acquired Oxford accents exemplify this very well.

22. Enterprising Andalusian pilots, captains, and seamen early transferred their base of operations to Santo Domingo and Havana in order to engage in the inter-island traffic and the ships needed by the island colonists for their expeditions of discovery, conquest and trade.

23. When 4 years ago the late Amado Alonso encouraged me to undertake this study I had no preconceived ideas about what I would discover, though the earlier statistical studies of Pedro Henríquez Ureña, Arzúa, and others did seem to indicate that by the end of the 16th century the accumulated contributions of the "North" and "South" of Spain were about equal. My task was to reorganize and supplement their work in such a way that it could be used for regional and chronological linguistic studies and would reveal definite migration patterns between certain regions in certain years or decades.

Such a pattern has clearly revealed itself for the initial period, thus far lending illusory historical evidence to the popular notions about the Andalusian origin of "American Spanish," at least as far as the Antilles are concerned. But we must constantly bear in mind that the numerical preponderance of Andalusians was only one of several factors that helped shape the first Antillean dialect and only one of a great many more that helped form the Antillean dialects of today. These statistics are merely guides, pointing, in cases of substantial majorities or of group migrations in certain years, to regional speech trends which may either have been reinforced or neutralized, then or later, by other developments. Taken by themselves, these statistics have no linguistic validity. But properly used as supporting evidence by historians of language and society, they can be of no little help in answering the all-important questions of who, where, when, and how.

24. When a colonist's home town was known but not the year of emigration, I used for statistical purposes the earliest year for which there was positive evidence of his presence in America; e.g., on several of the original expeditionaries to Mexico I had no information prior to 1519, '20, or even '21. However in order to have sailed with Cortés they must have been in Cuba in 1518, so this became the earliest positive date I could employ.

REGIONAL EMIGRATION TO THE NEW WORLD 1520-1539

If we compare the flow of emigration between 1520 and 1539 with that of the Antillean period (1493-1519),[1] we note first of all that the statistics are now based on a total of 13,262 emigrants instead of 5,481.[2] This tells us nothing, however, about the relative number of colonists who emigrated in the two periods, but simply reflects the greater abundance, in the second period, of available sources.[3] Therefore any comparison between the two streams should be based on regional contributions expressed in percentages and not on the total number of emigrants.

The same seven regions of the Peninsula which in the Antillean period furnished 94.5% of all colonists yielded 91.7% in the second period and 92% in the third. Though the percentages vary somewhat, the seven regions still maintain their relative order of importance, as shown in the following table:

	1493-1519		1520-1539	
	Identified Colonists	Percentage	Identified Colonists	Percentage
Andalusia	2,172	39.7%	4,247	32.0%
Old Castile	987	18.0%	2,337	17.6%
Extremadura	769	14.1%	2,204	16.6%
New Castile	483	8.8%	1,587	12.0%
León	406	7.5%	1,004	7.6%
Basque provinces	257	4.4%	600	4.5%
Galicia	111	2.0%	193	1.4%
TOTAL	5,185	94.5%	12,172	91.7%

Old Castile, León and the Basque provinces show negligible changes, while the percentage lost by Andalusia has been gained principally by Extremadura and New Castile. Although they do not appear in the table because the percentages involved are relatively insignificant, Navarre, Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, Murcia and the Canary Islands all register slight gains.

And whereas in the Antillean period, among 141 foreigners (2.6% of the total) we counted 61 Italians and 44 Portuguese, the second period yields 557 foreigners (4.2%), this time with more Portuguese (192) than Italians (143). The exact figures and percentages for each region are

as follows, based on a total of 13,262 emigrants identified: Andalusia 4,247 (32%), Old Castile 2,337 (17.6%), Extremadura 2,204 (16.6%), New Castile 1,587 (12%), Leon 1,004 (7.6%), the Basque provinces 600 (4.5%), Galicia 193 (1.4%), Catalonia (together with Valencia and the Balearic Islands) 131 (1.0%), Murcia 122 (0.9%), Aragon 101 (0.8%), Asturias 77 (0.6%), Navarre 71 (0.5%), and the Canary Islands 31 (0.2%).[5] The 557 foreigners are made up of 192 Portuguese (1.4%, the same as the Galicians), 143 Italians (1.1%)[6], 101 Flemings (0.8%), 53 Frenchmen (0.4%), 42 Germans (0.3%), 12 Greeks (0.1%), plus 7 Englishmen, 3 Dutchmen, 2 Irishmen, 1 Scot and 1 Dane.

If we examine the regional contribution by years (grouping together the years 1520-24, 1525-26 and 1529-33 so as to enable us to base our percentages on totals of never less than 500), we find that the Andalusian contribution, which up to 1526 and again in 1536 represents over 40% of the total, drops to 34% in 1528 and to less than 23.0% in 1538, the only year in which the Andalusian contingent is exceeded by that of another region.

For the year 1533 and onwards, the Catálogo de pasajeros a Indias begins to indicate with some degree of regularity the destination of each emigrant. For earlier years we were occasionally able to supplement the irregular indications of destination by appealing to other sources. Thus, in the Antillean period (1493-1519), we were able to place 1,145 in the island of Santo Domingo, 111 in Puerto Rico, 743 in the expeditions which, starting from Cuba, undertook the conquest of Mexico, and 390 in the Isthmus of Panama. Naturally these figures involve a few duplications.

But in the second period (1520-1539), we were able to determine the destinations of the majority of the emigrants. Although the conquests on the mainland greatly increased the number of destinations the emigrant could elect, Mexico, during the period 1520 - 1530, failed in only one year (1527) to attract over 50% of the emigrants of known destination. This proportion diminished somewhat in subsequent years with the conquest of Peru and the large expeditions, in certain years, to other parts of America (e.g. Rio de la Plata 1535-6, Florida 1538). But whereas other regions received important contingents in certain years only, Mexico received them year after year. Among 12,426 destinations recorded for the entire period, Mexico alone claims 4,022 (32.4%) or

almost one third of the total). To the island of Santo Domingo (Hispaniola) there went 1,372 (11.0%), to Peru 1,342 (10.8%), to the Río de la Plata 1,088 (8.8%), to Tierra Firme* 957 (7.7%), to Nueva Granada** 90[illegible] (7.3%), to Florida 701 (5.6%), to Guatemala 468 (3.7%), to Veragua (in 1535 only) 432 (3.5%), to Venezuela 350 (2.8%), to Yucatan 278 (2.2%), to Cuba 195 (1.6%), to Nicaragua 137 (1.1%), to Puerto Rico 108 (0.9%) and to Honduras 70 (0.6%).

In later periods (1540-59, 1560-79, etc.) we shall see a sharp reduction in the proportional emigration to Santo Domingo, Central America and the Río de la Plata, and the emergence, as almost invariable destinations, of Mexico, Peru, Chile and the Nuevo Reino de Granada.

Emigration by provinces.

The Spanish provinces rank as follows: 1. Sevilla (2,447), 2. Badajoz (1,543), 3. Toledo (750), 4. Valladolid (730), 5. Cáceres (648), 6. Salamanca (558), 7. Burgos (410), 8. Jaén (393), 9. Córdoba (390), 10. Huelva (387), 11. Ávila (300), 12. Madrid (293), 13. Vizcaya (263), 14. Palencia (261), 15. Ciudad Real (260), 16. Segovia (240), 17. Zamora (237), 18. Cádiz (214), 19. León (210), 20. Granada (201), 21. Málaga (181), 22. Guipúzcoa (175), 23. Santander (173), 24. Guadalajara (145), 25. Cuenca (132), 26. Álava (117), 27. Logroño (109), 28. Soria (80), 29. Asturias (77), 30. Navarra (71), 31. Albacete (63), 32. Murcia (59), 33. Zaragoza (55), 34. Valencia (53), 35. Pontevedra (44), 36. Coruña (42), 37-38. Canarias and Lugo (31 each), 39. Orense (30), 40. Barcelona (24), 41 Huesca (21), 42. Teruel (13), 43. Baleares (12), 44. Alicante (11), 45. Almería (8), 46-47. Lérida and Tarragona (7 each), 48. Gerona (5), 49. Castellón de la Plana (1).[7]

Plotting on a map of Spain the eleven provinces that furnished 300 or more identified colonists produces a curious E-shaped area, the back of which (Salamanca, Cáceres, Badajoz and Huelva) faces Portugal and the prongs of which are Ávila, Valladolid and Burgos in the north, Toledo in the center, and Sevilla, Córdoba, and Jaén in the south. A chain of only six provinces (Sevilla, Badajoz, Cáceres, Toledo, Salamanca and Valladolid) account for slightly over half of all who emigrated to the New World between 1520 and 1539!

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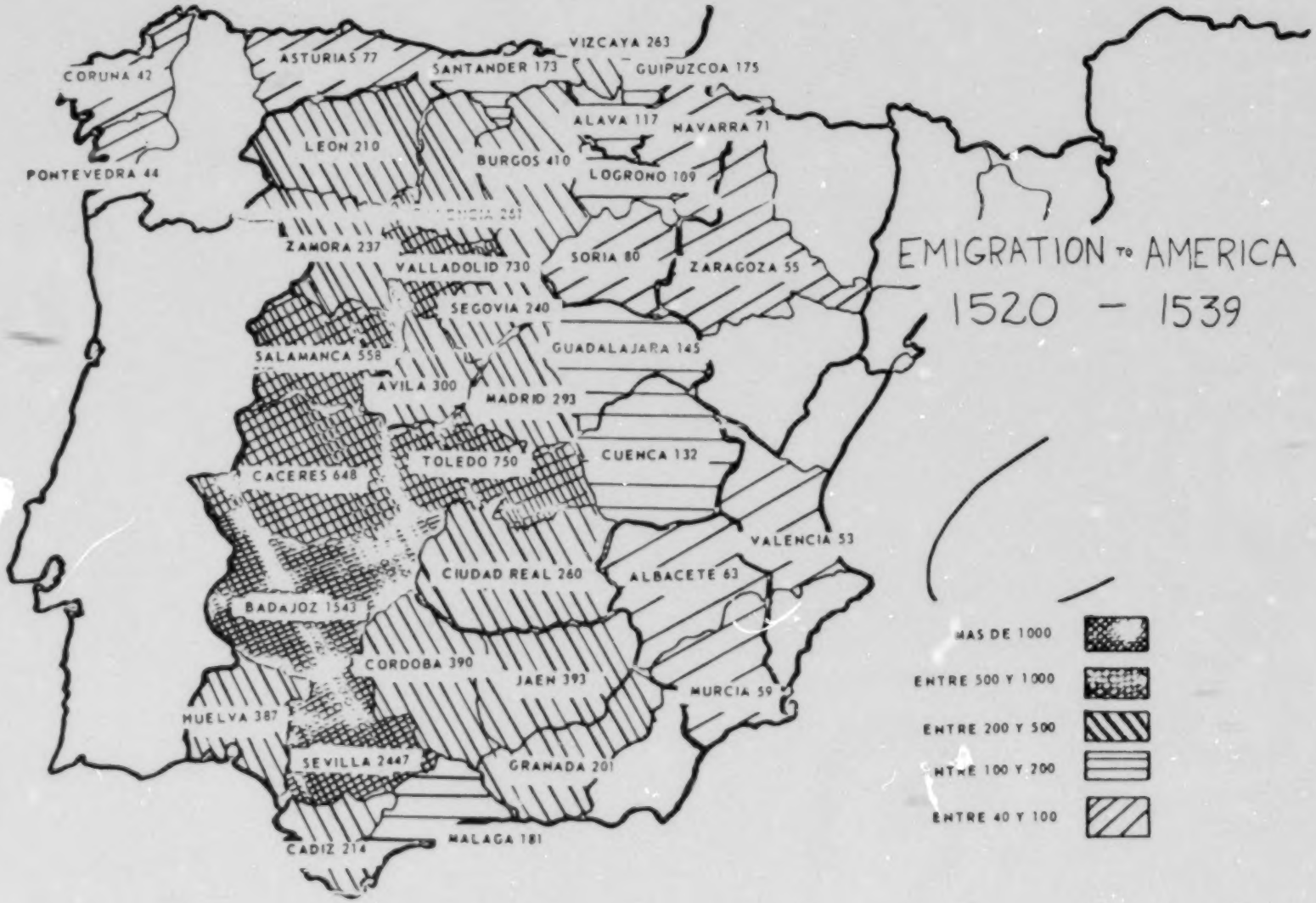
*Tierra Firme, Nombre de Dios, Panama, and the Río de San Juan.

**Santa Marta, Cartagena and the interior of the Nuevo Reino de Granada.


CORUNA 42
ASTURIAS 77
SANTANDER 173
VIZCAYA 263
GUIPUZCOA 175
ALAVA 117
NAVARRA 71
LEON 210
BURGOS 410
LOGRONO 109
PONTEVEDRA 44
ZAMORA 237
VALLADOLID 730
SORIA 80
ZARAGOZA 55
SEGOVIA 240
GUADALAJARA 145
SALAMANCA 558
AVILA 300
MADRID 293
TOLEDO 750
CUENCA 132
CACERES 648
VALENCIA 53
CIUDAD REAL 260
ALBACETE 63
BADAJOZ 1543
CORDOBA 390
JAEN 393
MURCIA 59
HUELVA 387
SEVILLA 2447
GRANADA 201
CADIZ 214
MALAGA 181
EMIGRATION TO AMERICA
1520 - 1539
MAS DE 1000
ENTRE 500 Y 1000
ENTRE 200 Y 500
ENTRE 100 Y 200
ENTRE 40 Y 100

Emigration from the cities.

In the Antillean period (1493-1519)) the city of Seville, with its sailors' quarter of Triana just across the river, sent more colonists than the next 14 cities combined (958 vs. 910). This supremacy, as decisive as ever, continued in the period 1520-39 also. Seville-Triana, with 1,801 identified emigrants, sent more than the total (1,784) for the next nine cities combined: Toledo 302, Córdoba 242, Salamanca 229, Valladolid 200, Badajoz 196, Guadalcanal (Seville) 166, Trujillo (Cáceres) 164, Burgos 143 and Granada 142. Next in descending order follow Madrid 140, Segovia 131, Medina del Campo (Valladolid) 135, Medellín (Badajoz) 112, Ávila 107, Cáceres 106 and Zamora 101, all with over a hundred emigrants each. Of our second period total of 13,262 identified emigrants, almost exactly one-third (4,417) hailed from these seventeen towns alone! Comparing this list with that of the first period we see at once that the small port of Palos (Huelva) has dropped considerably in rank and that three new towns have suddenly risen to prominence: Guadalcanal, Trujillo, and Medellín. The heavy contributions of Medellín and Trujillo, the birthplaces of Pedro de Alvarado and of the Pizarros, respectively, requires no explanation, but the case of Guadalcanal is rather curious. This little town in the Sierra Morena was in former centuries noted for its silver mines, but by the XVIth century these may well have begun to decline, because Madoz in 1846 describes them as long since abandoned (Diccionario geográfico de España, s.n. Guadalcanal). The incipient decline of the town's principal industry would account very well for the extraordinary exodus of 1535 and 1536, when entire families emigrated from Guadalcanal to Mexico, where the rich silver mines of Taxco had just been discovered (1534).

Who inspired this emigration? It may well have been Francisco Muñoz Rico (No. 8459 in our Volume II), who, in the company of García Nuñez and eight others, all from Guadalcanal, left for Mexico in 1527. In 1535 García Nuñez and Francisco Muñoz Rico appear as miners residing in Zumpango and Taxco respectively. Back in Spain on a brief visit, Francisco Muñoz returned to Mexico in 1536, apparently having stimulated, with his personal success, the emigration of many of his fellow townsmen.

In addition to the seventeen towns mentioned above, 35 others furnished from 40 to 99 identified emigrants apiece: Cuidad Rodrigo (Salamanca) 95, Talavera de la Reina (Toledo) 91, Ciudad Real 90, Écija (Sevilla) 87, Baeza

(Jaén) and Jerez de la Frontera (Cádiz) 86, Triana (Sevilla) 80, Zafra (Badajoz) 78, Llerena (Badajoz) 76, Palos (Huelva) 70, Jerez (Badajoz) 69, Jaén 68, Alburquerque (Badajoz) 67, Medina de Ríoseco (Valladolid) and Mérida (Badajoz) 63, Villanueva de Barcarrota (Badajoz) 60, Plasencia (Cáceres) 59, Málaga 55, León 53, Guadalajara 50, Úbeda (Jaén) and Utrera (Sevilla) 49, Carrión (Palencia) 48, Olmedo (Valladolid) and Ronda (Málaga) 45, Arévalo (Ávila) and Bilbao (Vizcaya) 44, Almodóvar del Campo (Ciudad Real) and Palencia 43, Aranda de Duero (Burgos) and Huelva 41, Portillo (Valladolid) and Toro (Zamora) 40.

With from 20 to 39 emigrants each we have the following 56 towns: Cuéllar (Segovia) and Ocaña (Toledo) 39, Marchena (Seville) 38, Astorga (León) and Fregenal (Badajoz) 37, Illescas (Toledo) and Segura de León (Badajoz) 37, Alcaraz (Albacete) and Coria de Galisteo (Cáceres) 36, Ledesma (Salamanca) 36, Alcala de Henares (Madrid) and Fuente de Cantos (Badajoz) 35, Cazalla de la Sierra (Seville) 34, Almagro (Ciudad Real) and Cuenca 33, Sanlucar de Barrameda (Cádiz) 33, Alanís (Seville) and Carmona (Seville) 31, Fuente del Maestre (Badajoz) 31, Béjar del Castañar (Salamanca) and Orduña (Vizcaya) 30, Tordesillas (Valladolid) and Torrijos (Toledo) 30, Usagre (Badajoz) 30, Vergara (Guipúzcoa) 29, Lepe (Huelva) and Lucena (Córdoba) 28, Soria and Zaragoza 28, Murcia and Ontiveros (Ávila) 27, Loja (Granada) 27, Sanlúcar la Mayor (Seville) and Trigueros (Huelva) 27, Alcántara (Cáceres) and Benalcázar (Córdoba) 25, Fuente del Arco (Badajoz) and Santaolalla (Toledo) 25, Dueñas (Palencia) and Sahagún (León) 24, Almonte (Huelva) and Marbella (Málaga) 23, Niebla (Huelva) and Puerto de Santa María (Cádiz) 23, Oliva (Badajoz) and Santos de Maimona (Badajoz) 22, Andújar (Jaén) and Benavente (Zamora) 21, Valencia de la Torre (Badajoz) and Villanueva de la Serena (Badajoz) 21, Alba de Tormes (Salamanca) and Antequera (Málaga) 20, Cazorla (Jaén) and Jaraiz (Cáceres) 20, Orense and Torrejón de Velasco (Madrid) 20, Valverde (Badajoz) and Villanueva del Fresno (Badajoz) 20.

And finally we counted 75 communities that sent from 10-19 settlers apiece. Of these 75, 22 are located in Old Castile, 16 in Andalusia, 15 in Extremadura, 10 in New Castile, 5 in León, 3 in Galicia, 2 in the Basque provinces, 1 in Navarre and 1 in Murcia.

The city of Seville.

Among 2,445 emigrants from the province of Seville we counted 1,721 from the capital itself and another 80 from Triana, the sailors' quarter

located on the other side of the River Guadalquivir. Since Seville was the seat of the Casa de Contratación and the city where at times emigrants resided for several months while arranging or waiting for passage to America, the suspicion existed in our minds that some and perhaps many of those who called themselves sevillanos were not sevillanos by birth. Accordingly we made the following analysis: Among the 1,721 emigrants from the city we found clearly listed as naturales or hijos de naturales 455, who with 7 additional wives total 462 (i.e., 29.6%). As hijos de vecinos we identified another 414 plus 15 spouses making a total of 429 (another 24.9%). All of these 891 emigrants (51.8%) can be regarded as authentic sevillanos. Listed simply as vecinos we find another 701, plus 12 hermanos de vecinos and 24 spouses. These total 737 (42.8%).[8] The description of an emigrant as a vecino de Sevilla in no way excludes the possibility of his having been born or raised there also, as we have had occasion to observe in numerous cases where the birthplace of one listed in the Catálogo de pasajeros a Indias as a vecino is confirmed by other sources. However there can always remain an element of doubt.[9] To claim that all vecinos were genuine cases would be as absurd as to claim that none of them were. The correspondence of surnames and similar evidence inclines us to believe that over half of those described simply as vecinos de Sevilla were indeed authentic sevillanos. But even discounting all but the 891 naturales, hijos de naturales and hijos de vecino(s), the supremacy of Seville as a center of emigration to America is challenged by no other city of the period. Moreover, the city of Seville alone contributed one third (34%) of all women who emigrated to America between 1520-39. In view of the fact that one out of every three Spanish women arriving in the New World was born or resided in the city of Seville (in the Antillean period 1493-1519 it was one out of every two), the linguistic and cultural influence of Seville among the white women of the colonies must have continued to be very great. (See our observations about the women of Seville in the Antillean period, PMLA, December, 1956, pp. 1159-1160).

The sailors.

The same maritime provinces which distinguished themselves in the Antillean period by the number of their sailors, pilots and captains, namely Huelva, Seville, Vizcaya and Cádiz, share their importance in the second period with Guipúzcoa and the Portuguese. Out of 255 identified as sailors

we counted 132 Andalusians (Seville 59, Huelva 48, Cádiz 10, Córdoba 2, Jaén 1, Málaga 1, plus one other Andalusian), or 47.8%; 44 Basques (Vizcaya 22, Guipúzcoa 16, plus 6 other Basques), or 17.2%; 30 Portuguese (11.8%); 13 Italians (5.1%); 10 Galicians (4.0%); 9 Old Castilians (Burgos 3, Santander 2, Valladolid 2, Ávila and Soria 1 each), or 3.5%; 6 Extremeños (Badajoz 3, Cáceres 3), 2.4%; 5 Catalans (2.0%); 4 Asturians (1.6%); 3 New Castilians (Ciudad Real 1, Guadalajara 1, Madrid 1), 1.2%; 3 Greeks (1.2%); 2 Canary Islanders (0.8%); plus 1 Leonese, 1 Murcian, 1 Valencian and one Fleming (0.4% each). Almost 20% of the sailors (47) were foreigners. The interior provinces of Spain, with only 20 sailors, yield virtually the same percentage as before (7.8% instead of 7.7%).

The merchants.

Among the emigrants of the period 1520-39 we were able to identify 179 as merchants. Because merchants travelled frequently the testimony of surnames reveals a lower correspondence between place of residence and place of birth than for the population as a whole. For example there appear described as vecinos of the city of Seville, which alone accounts for 64 of the merchants, or over one third, merchants like Rodrigo Nuñez de Illescas, Lope Sánchez de Uclés, Simón de Burgos, Diego de Toledo, Pedro de Soria, Gómez de Llerena, Francisco de Plasencia, Fernando Navarro or Martín Alemán, whose surnames clearly betray their non-Andalusian origin, and others like Francisco and Gonzalo de Baena, Antonio de Córdoba, Pedro Fernández de Carmona and Pedro Fernández de Utrera who very probably hailed from other parts of Andalusia.* That many resident merchants were, however, also native-born we can infer not only from names like Rodrigo López de Sevilla, Fernando de Sevilla or Juan Pérez Sevillano, but also from typically Sevillan family names like Herrera, Guerra or Morales.

Since the very beginning of the conquest of America important colonies of Basque sailors and captains, many of them merchants, had settled in Seville, Triana, Huelva, Palos, Sanlúcar and other southern ports in order to engage in transporting passengers and merchandise between Spain and the New World.[10] It is worth noting that the Basques, although they represent only 4.5% of all the colonists of the period, contributed 14% of the merchants, proportionately more than any other region in Spain. Some of these

*It was a common practice in the sixteenth century to call a merchant by the name of his birthplace.

merchants, like Nicolás Sánchez de Aramburu and his son Juan, or Martín de Orduña and Domingo de Zornosa, were clearly stated to be Basques domiciled in Seville. Following our usual practice we have classified such individuals as Basques and not as sevillanos.

Until 1529 the trading centers in America appear to have been Santo Domingo and Mexico City, to judge by the statistical evidence of the destination or domicile in America of the merchants we have identified. Between 1520 and 1529, 40 merchants appear in Santo Domingo, 30 in Mexico City (11 more emigrated to New Spain but it is not certain where they settled), 8 in Cuba, 6 in Puerto Rico and only 3 in Tierra Firme, while for 16 others the exact destination is unspecified. But with the conquest of Peru and the discovery of rich silver mines in Mexico in 1534, the Antilles began to lose much of their relative importance. Between 1530 and 1539 only 3 new merchants gave their destination as Santo Domingo (none as Puerto Rico or Cuba), while 6 went to Panama and 14 to Peru. One Genoese merchant arrived in the Río de la Plata in 1538. But Mexico is now clearly in the lead with 40 new merchants, of whom at least 30 settled in the new viceregal capital from 1535 on.

Of the 179 merchants, 89 (49.7%) were born or domiciled in Andalusia (especially Seville, 60 of whose 73 merchants appeared in the Indies before 1530), 25 Basques (14%), 25 Old Castilians (14%), 8 New Castilians (4.5%), 9 Genoese (5%) and 23 (12.8%) from other areas. The provinces which furnished the largest number of merchants are Seville (73), Vizcaya (14), Burgos (11), Guipúzcoa (8), and Segovia (7). The Genoese trading houses established in Seville, like the Catagni, Grimaldi, Centurioni, Vivaldi, Spindole, Salvagi, Basignane and Pineli, who helped equip so may of the earliest expeditions, continued to show such interest in the commercial development of the New World that many of them sent out members of their families to represent their interests. Among the Genoese who went out to the Indies at this time were the merchants Benito (Benedetto) Centurion, Jacome Espindola, and Juan Bautista Pinelo, plus several others who were probably merchants although we are not certain, like Esteban de Basinana, Juan Pedro de Vicaldo (for Vivaldo?), Bernardo and Melchor Centurión, and Esteban Salvago.

The emigration of women.

In the Antillean period (1493-1519), out of a total of 5,481 identified colonists we counted 308 women (5.6%), of whom two thirds (67%) were Andalusian and half (50%) from the city of Seville itself.

The period 1520-1539 yields the following figures: among 13,262 emigrants we counted 845 women (6.3%), the majority of them headed for Mexico and Santo Domingo. Of these, 252 (30%) were married women emigrating with their husbands, 85 (10%) were married women going out to join their husbands, 457 (54%) were unmarried women and girls, while 51 (6%) were widows or women whose marital status is difficult to determine. By regions, the 845 women distribute as follows: Andalusians 493 (58.3%); Extremeñas 98 (10.4%); Old Castilians 98 also (10.4%); New Castilians 76 (9.2%); Leonese 36 (4.3%); Basques 12 (1.4%); Portuguese 8 (0.9%); Catalans and Valencians 6 (0.7%); Flemish 5 (0.6%); plus 3 Aragonese, 2 Murcians, 2 Canary Islanders, 2 Galicians, 1 Navarrese, 2 Greeks and 1 Italian. In this second period 16 of the women were foreigners; in the first period, none.

The proportion of women among the Andalusian emigrants is double that of any other region. Twelve women among 600 Basques is only 2%. Among 1004 Leonese, 36 women represent 3.6%. Among 2,337 Old Castilians, 98 women are 4.2%. Among 2,204 Extremeños, 98 women are 4.4%. Of the 1,587 New Castilians, 76 were women (4.8%). But of the 4,247 Andalusians 493 women constitute 11.6%, of the 2,445 sevillanos (city and province), 391 women represent 16%, while of the 1721 emigrants from the city of Seville itself 287 (16.6%) were women, in other words, one out of every six.

To sum up, we find that Andalusia continues to easily outrank the rest of the country in the matter of emigration of women to the New World, but that it has lost a little ground compared with the previous period. While the Andalusian contribution to the total number of emigrants drops from 39.7% to 32.0%, the Andalusian contingent among the women drops from 67% to 58.3%, that of the province of Seville from 57.5% to 46.3%, and that of the city itself from 50% (=1/2) to 34% (=1/3)

Santo Domingo.

The preponderance of Andalusians in Santo Domingo noted in the Antillean period (498 Andalusians out of 1,145 or 43.5%) continues undiminished and even increases in the twenty-year period that follows. From 1520-39, out of 1,372 emigrants to Santo Domingo we counted 626 Andalusians (45.6%) many of them women, making Santo Domingo the most heavily Andalusianized region of America, at least in the early years of the colony. After Mexico, Santo Domingo (Hispaniola) continues to be the destination most frequently named in the Catálogo de pasajeros between the years 1520 and 1539. Consequently,

at a time when the other islands of the Caribbean were beginning to feel the serious effects of the general exodus towards Mexico, Panama and Peru, Santo Domingo continued to flourish, "porque está muy edeficada, y en esta ciudad sola hay muchos vezinos e hombres ricos, que ninguna nescessidad tienen de la Nueva España ni de Tierra Firme, antes desde aquí se han sostenido o sostienen essos principios e fundaciones de fuera." (Oviedo, III, 473). In addition to the Andalusians, already counted, we identified 184 Old Castilians (13.4%), 175 Extremeños (12.8%), 146 New Castilians (10.8%), 97 Leonese (7%), 46 Basques (3.4%), 20 Galicians (1.5%), 16 Catalans and Valencians (1.2%), 14 Italians (1%), 9 Flemish (0.7%), and 9 Germans (0.7%), 9 Murcians (0.7%), 6 Aragonese (0.4%), 4 Navarrese (0.3%), 4 Asturians (0.3%), 3 Canary Islanders (0.2%), 3 Portuguese (0.2%) and 2 Frenchmen (0.1%).

Among the provinces Seville ranks first with the extraordinary figure of 457 (367 of them from the city itself), while Badajoz contributes 107, Cáceres 67, Salamanca 61, Ciudad Real 55, Toledo 50, Huelva 48, Córdoba and Valladolid 40 each, Palencia 37, Burgos 36 and Cádiz 33.

Cuba and Puerto Rico.

Unlike Santo Domingo, seat of the Real Audiencia, a flourishing commercial center and, next to Mexico, the favorite destination of the numerous peaceful colonists - doctors, lawyers, craftsmen, women - not exactly the adventuresome, who also emigrated to the Indies, Puerto Rico and Cuba are seldom mentioned as destinations. On the contrary, with the conquests of Mexico and Peru these islands began to depopulate alarmingly. On the one hand few new settlers arrived, on the other many of the older settlers, even after many years of residence, left the islands in search of new adventures, greater wealth or perhaps a more temperate climate. It was from Cuba that the conquest of Mexico was mounted, and when Fernando de Soto sailed from that island with his large but ill-fated expedition to Florida, he took with him, according to the complaints the Emperor received from the island authorities, a good number of the few settlers who remained.

During the entire second period, among 13,262 new emigrants we found only 303 who settled in Cuba and Puerto Rico, compared with 1,372 for Santo Domingo, 1,340 for Peru, 4,022 for Mexico, 906 for Nueva Granada and 1,088 for the Río de la Plata. Cuba, with 195 new settlers identified, shows more Andalusians, while Puerto Rico, with 108, features more Old Castilians. Here are the figures: Cuba. 80 Andalusians (41%), 34 Old Castilians (17.4%), 31 Extremenos (15.9%), 14 New Castilians (7.2%), 11

Leonese (5.6%), 6 Basques (3.1%), 5 Galicians (2.6%), 4 Portuguese (2.1%), 3 Italians (1.5%), 2 Navarrese (1.0%), 2 Aragonese (1.0%), 1 Murcian, 1 Catalan or Valencian, and 1 Frenchman (0.5%) each. Puerto Rico. 33 Old Castilians (30.6%), 29 Andalusians (26.9%), 16 Extremeños (14.8%), and 16 Leonese (14.8%), 6 Basques (5.6%), only 2 New Castilians (1.9%), 2 Flemings (1.9%), 2 Italians (1.9%), plus 1 Navaresse and 1 Galician (0.9% each). Emigration to New Spain.

In Volume I we were able to identify 743 of the original conquistadores who in 1518 and 1519 left Cuba and landed in Mexico. Of these 743, 227 (30%) were Andalusians; 150 (20%) were Old Castilians; 97 (13%) were Extremeños; 77 (10.5%) were Leonese; 58 (8%) were Portuguese, Galicians or Asturians; 41 (5.5%) were New Castilians; 36 (5%) were Basques; 23 (3.1%) were Italians and 14 (1.9%) were other foreigners.

Let us now examine the emigration to Mexico during the two decades immediately following the conquest of Tenochtitlán. The flow of emigration began at once and reached flood proportions by 1523. The biggest year was 1535-6, when New Spain was elevated to a viceroyalty. In the period 1520-39 there arrived in Mexico, or were located there for the first time, over 4,000 identified emigrants, three times as many as in any other region of America. These included numerous women, both married and single, and a large number of merchants, professional men, and artisans. To judge by its popularity as a destination and by the social background of its settlers, Mexico stood out from the very beginning as the greatest center of colonial activity in all of Spanish America.

Out of a total of 4,022 emigrants to Mexico from 1520-39 we find 1,412 Andalusians (35%), 693 Old Castilians (17.3%), 598 Extremeños (14.8%), 507 New Castilians (12.6%), 290 Leonese (7.2%), 177 Basques (4.4%), 63 Portuguese (1.6%), 48 Italians (1.2%), 37 Catalans and Valencians (0.9%), 32 Aragonese (0.8%), 32 Galicians (0.8%), 31 Murcians (0.8%), 23 Flemings (0.6%), 21 Asturians (0.5%), 17 Frenchmen (0.4%), 15 Navarrese (0.4%), 8 Germans (0.2%), 7 Canary Islanders (0.2%) and 11 foreigners from various other countries.

Two provinces alone, Seville (915) and Badajoz (425) supplied a third (33.3%) of all these colonists. Next follow Toledo 223, Valladolid 204, Salamanca 177, Cáceres 171, Huelva 155, Burgos 151 and Córdoba 111. No less than 170 (4.3%) were foreigners.

The first white settlers of Tenochtitlán.

What was the regional composition of the earliest vecinos of Tenochtitlán? Among our colonists of the Antillean period we counted 228, and among those who arrived in the second period we found another 686, who were domiciled at one time or another in the Aztec capital. Of these 914 inhabitants, all of whom emigrated to America prior to 1540, 299 were Andalusians (32.7%), 169 were Old Castilians (18.5%), 115 were Extremeños (12.6%), 102 were New Castilians (11.2%), 90 were Leonese (9.9%), 45 Basques (4.9%), 23 Portuguese (2.5%), 17 Italians (1.9%), 11 Aragonese (1.2%), 11 Galicians (1.2%), 6 Navarrese (0.7%), 5 Flemish (0.5%), 4 Murcians (0.4%), 4 Valencians (0.4%), 3 Canary Islanders (0.3%),3 Frenchmen (0.3%), 2 Asturians (0.2%), 2 Catalans (0.2%), 1 German, 1 Englishman and 1 Irishman (0.1% each). A comparison of these figures with the percentages for second period emigration as a whole shows the Andalusian contribution to be about normal (that of Seville, with 17.7%, is normal also), but the contingent from Extremadura to be rather lower than average despite its being the native region of Fernán Cortés. The provinces best represented, in addition to Seville (171), are Badajoz (64), Huelva and Salamanca (58 each), Toledo (51), Cáceres (46), Burgos (38), Valladolid (37), Vizcaya (28), Segovia (26), Zamora (21) and Córdoba (20).

Puebla.

For Puebla de los Ángeles, founded by the Franciscans in 1532, the proportions are noticeably different. The earliest inhabitants of this city were, in the majority, Andalusians and Extremeños. Here are the figures: Out of a total of 168 identified residents we counted 65 Andalusians (38.7%) and 39 Extremeños (23.2%). These alone account for 61.9% of the total. Then follow at a distance the Old Castilians with only 16 (9.5%), the Leonese with another 16 (9.5%), the New Castilians with 13 (7.7%),the Basques with 5 (3.0%), the Portuguese with 5 also (3.0%), the Italians with 4 (2.4%), the Murcians with 2 (1.2%), plus 1 Aragonese, 1 Galician and 1 German (0.6% each). The principal provinces are Seville (32), Badajoz (21), Cáceres (18) and Huelva (15).

New Galicia.

Though this area is subsumed in the total figures for New Spain, we have determined the origin of 114 of the conquistadores who in 1530-31 penetrated this western part of Mexico under the command of the New Castilian

don Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán. There were 28 Old Castilians (24.6%), 26 Andalusians (22.8%), 20 Extremeños (17.5%), 11 New Castilians, (9.6%), 9 Basques (7.9%), and 8 Leonese (7.0%). Galicia, after which the region was named, did not even furnish 2.0% of the original settlers. By 1548 the total number of identified settlers and pacificadores had risen to 318, of whom 75 were Old Castilians (23.6%), 70 Andalusians (21.9%), 59 Extremeños (15.4%), 43 New Castilians (13.5%), 20 Leonese (6.3%), and 19 Basques (6.2%). The principal provinces are Badajoz 39, Seville 39, Burgos 25, Cáceres 20, Toledo 19 and Valladolid 15.[11]

The peninsula of Yucatán.

Salamanca being the birthplace of the three Montejos who directed the slow and difficult conquest of the Mayas, we are not surprised to find a high proportion of Leonese among the 265 identified expeditionaries who sailed from Spain in 1527. The total rises to 278 with the addition of 13 more conquistadores who, recruited in Mexico, appear in Yucatan before 1540. Of this total of 278, almost all of whom arrived in 1527, we counted 64 Andalusians (23.0%), 58 Leonese (20.8%), 48 Old Castilians (17.2%), 46 Extremeños (16.5%), 29 New Castilians (10.4%), 9 Basques (3.2%), 4 Asturians (1.4%), 4 Galicians (1.4%), 4 Flemings (1.4%), 3 Murcians (1.1%), 2 Valencians (0.7%), 2 Germans (0.7%), plus 1 Catalan, 1 Canary Islander, 1 Navarrese, 1 Portuguese and 1 Dutchman (0.4% each). Salamanca heads the list of provinces with 39 conquistadores, followed by Seville 35, Badajoz 31, Toledo 16, Zamora 15, Cáceres 14 and Valladolid 14.

Guatemala and Chiapas.

Until 1539 we identified 467 settlers, 372 of whom emigrated from Spain in 1538 with the famed conqueror from Extremadura don Pedro de Alvarado. The total is composed of 119 Andalusians (25.5%), 106 Extremeños (22.7%), 101 Old Castilians (21.7%), 52 Leonese (11.1%), 35 New Castilians (7.5%), 18 Basques (3.9%), 15 Aragonese (3.2%), 5 Galicians (1.1%), 3 Murcians (0.6%), 2 Asturians (0.4%), 2 Frenchmen (0.4%), 2 Portuguese (0.4%), 2 Italians (0.4%), plus 1 Catalan, 1 Navarrese, 1 Valencian, 1 Fleming and 1 Greek (0.2% each). The provinces best represented in Guatemala are Alvarado's home province of Badajoz 82, Jaén 53 (51 of them in 1538 alone), Seville 40, Valladolid 35, Salamanca 30, and Cáceres 24.

Nicaragua.

Colonized principally from Panama, the region yielded very few

documents that we could use. The Catálogo de pasajeros scarcely mentions it as a destination. Consequently we were able to identify only 137 of its earliest settlers. Here one can clearly discern the influence of the two Segovian governors, Pedrarias Dávila and his son-in-law Rodrigo de Contreras, whose kinsmen and followers dominated the political life of that region for so many years. Of the 137 identified settlers the two Castiles and the Basque provinces account for 90, many of them from Segovia and Madrid. Let us view the percentages: Old Castile 51 (37.4%), New Castile 28 (20.4%), Andalusia 26 (19.0%), the Basques 11 (8%), Extremadura 9 (6.6%), León 3 (2.2%), Italy 2 (1.5%), France 2 (1.5%), plus 1 Galician, 1 Navarrese, 1 Valencian, 1 German and 1 Portuguese (0.7% each). The principal provinces are Segovia 37, Madrid 18, and Seville 15.

Tierra Firme, Panama and Nombre de Dios.

Between 1520 and 1533 no less than 1,353 new identified colonists emigrated to Mexico. During this same period only 89 went to Tierra Firme. But when the conquest of Peru began, the flow of emigration to Tierra Firme grew also. Between 1534 and 1539 we find 1,169 emigrants headed for Peru and 869 for Tierra Firme. The cumulative total of 958 for Tierre Firme yields 316 Andalusians (33%), 211 Extremeños (22%), 142 Old Castilians (14.8%), 109 New Castilians (11.3%), 57 Basques (6%), 49 Leonese (5.1%), and 14 Galicians (1.5%). The rest of Spain and the foreigners furnished only 73, or 7.6%. There were 12 Flemings, 6 Germans, and 6 Italians, but only one Portuguese. The best represted provinces are Seville 190, Badajoz 171, Toledo 56, Valladolid 45, Cáceres 40, Córdoba 36. The single province of Seville contributed 20%, that of Badajoz another 17.8%.

Cartagena, Santa Marta, and the New Kingdom of Granada.

The conquerors of the territory of present-day Colombia and Venezuela were unusual in that they featured a higher proportion of Castilians than of Andalusians and Extremeños. Colombia and Venezuela are also the regions which, next to the Río de la Plata, yielded the highest percentage of foreigners among their original settlers. For the second period the first of these areas shows a total of 906 colonists, distributed as follows: Cartagena 524, Santa Marta 277, and the New Kingdom of Granada 105, although it must be pointed out that of the 257 who in 1535 sailed for Cartagena with Juan del Junco in order to raise the siege laid by the Indians, the majority went on to Santa Marta when they found that the former city was

already out of danger. Nor do these figures include the 20 identified companions of Pascual de Andagoya (17 Basques, 2 Galicians and 1 Aragonese), whose expedition in 1539 from Tierre Firme to the Río de San Juan (on the Pacific coast of Colombia) we have counted statistically with Tierra Firme.

We can find absolutely no statistical evidence to support the statement, oft repeated, that the city of Cartagene de Indias was so named because a majority of those who in 1533 founded it under Pedro de Heredia were born in Cartagena de Levante (Murcia). Among the 524 earliest settlers of Cartegena of certain origin there are 17 from Albacete, only one from the province of Murcia, and from the port of Cartagena itself none at all. Heredia himself was a madrileño.

The following regional contributions show, in parentheses, the figures first for Cartagena, then for Santa Marta and lastly for the Nuevo Reino: Old Castilians 186 (59-113-14), or 20.5%; Andalusians 163 (57-77-29), or 18%, New Castilians 125 (25-90-10), or 13.8%, 115 Extremeños (35-73-7), or 12.7%; 84 Leonese (21-52-11), or 9.3%; 52 Basques (24-22-6), or 5.7%, 27 Murcians (8-18-1), or 3.0%; 22 Asturians (1-19-2), or 2.4%, 16 Catalans and Valencians (2-13-1), or 1.7%; 15 Aragonese (6-7-2), 1.7%; 14 Galicians (10-3-1), 1.5%; 13 Navarrese (2-9-2), 1.4%; 3 Canary Islanders (3-0-0), 0.6%; in addition, the following foreigners: 29 Portuguese (14-213), 3.2%; 17 Flemings (6-8-3), 1.9%; 16 Frenchmen (3-13-0), 0.6%; plus 1 Englishman and 1 Dutchman (both to Cartagena), 0.2% each. The foreigners total 73, or 8.1%.

Venezuela.*

Few regions of America reveal in the origins of their earliest settlers as strange a distribution as Venezuela. We succeeded in identifying 387 (of whom 27 came to the Indies before 1520), but only 69 of them were in Venezuela before 1534, the year in which there arrived, "con los alemanes," an expedition of whose members we have identified 269.

Let us examine the regional proportions. There is an almost equal number of Andalusians and Old Castilians. Unlike the usual pattern in America, León takes precedence over New Castile and New Castile in turn over Extremadura. Of all the regions of America Venezuela is the one with the smallest proportion of Extremeños and the highest of Galicians, Navarrese, Catalans and Balearic Islanders. It is moreover, if we except the

*To Venezuela we have added the islands of Trinidad and Cubagua, the island of Margarita and the Isle of Pearls, Paria, and the expedition of Diego de Ordás to the Río Maranón, although we located very few people in these places.

Río de la Plata, the region with the highest percentage of foreigners (11.0%), most of them commissioned by the banking house of the Welsers.

Here are the figures: Andalusia 86 (22.2%), Old Castile 85 (22.0%), León 44 (11.4%), New Castile 38 (9.8%), Extremadura 24 (6.2%), Basque provinces 21 (5.4%), Catalonia and the Balearic Islands 16 (4.1%), Germany 15 (3.8%), Galicia 14 (3.6%), Flanders 10 (2.6%), Portugal 9 (2.3%), Aragon 6 (1.5%), Navarre 6 (1.5%), Italy 6 (1.5%), Asturias 3 (0.8%), France 3 (0.8%) and the Canaries 1 (0.3%). Chief among the provinces are Seville 34, Valladolid 25, Salamanca 23, Toledo 17, Badajoz and Burgos 14 each.

Venezuela, Nicaragua and the New Kingdom of Granada are until 1539 the only regions in all America in which the Castilians enjoy a numerical advantage, however small, over the Andalusians and Extremeños.

The conquest of Peru.

In the early years, the numerical preponderance of Andalusians and Extremeños in Peru does not appear to have been very marked. Andalusia (297 colonists) and Old Castile (298) are tied for first place with 22.2% each. Extremadura is close behind with 274 (20.4%). New Castile has 186 (13.9%), León 105 (7.8%), the Basques 74 (5.5%), Galicia 26 (1.9%), Italy 16 (1.2%), Murcia 11 (0.8%), Portugal 11 (0.8%), Valencia 8 (0.6%), Asturias 7 (0.5%), Catalonia 6 (0.4%), Navarre 6 (0.4%), Aragon 5 (0.4%), Flanders 4 (0.3%), Greece 3 (0.2%), England 2 (0.1%), and the Canaries, Ireland and Germany 1 (0.1% each). Total 1,342.[12]

Almost one half of the colonists of Peru came from just five provinces: Badajoz (155), Seville (150), Cáceres (111), Valladolid (109) and Toledo (100). At a distance follow Ávila (47), Salamanca (46), Burgos (43), Madrid (43) and Huelva (40).

The City of Lima.

Though founded in the latter half of our second period, Lima by the end of 1539 already has 247 identified residents, almost half of them (48.7%) Andalusians and Extremeños. Here are the percentages: Andalusia 69 (28.0%), Extremadura 51 (20.7%), Old Castile 42 (17%), New Castile 28 (11.3%), the Basque provinces 25 (10.1%), León 9 (3.6%), Italy 7 (2.8%), Catalonia 3 (1.2%), Galicia 3 (1.2%), Navarre 3 (1.2%), Murcia 2 (0.8%), Aragon 1 (0.4%), Asturias 1 (0.4%); plus one German, one Fleming and one Englishman (0.4% each). Foremost among the provinces are Seville 39, Cáceres 25, and Badajoz 23.

Cuzco.

Among the colonists of the first and second periods we counted 166 who at one time or another resided in the ancient Inca capital. Because Cáceres was the home province of the Pizarros and Cuzco the stronghold of their cause in Peru, we find the largest single group to be the cacereños (26), who formed a nucleus even more powerful than their number would indicate. Then follow Seville (22), Toledo (16), Badajoz (12) and Huelva (11). In the regional proportions Andalusia, with 46 residents (27.7%) enjoys a slight advantage over Extremadura (42, or 25.3%). Then follow Old Castile, with 23 (13.9%) and New Castile, with 21 (12.7%). León, which in this period furnished 7.8% of the settlers of Peru, contributed, with 13 inhabitants, the same percentage to that of Cuzco. The Basques furnished 8 (4.8%), the Galicians 5 (3.0%), the Valencians 3 (1.8%), the Italians 2 (1.2%), the Portuguese another 2 (1.2%) and the Greeks one (captain Pedro de Candia, 0.6%).

The Río de la Plata.

Of all the regions in America perhaps the one with the most unusual composition of its earliest settlers was the Río de la Plata. Like Florida, the Plate region in its early years was not populated by individual emigrants but by the members of certain expeditions only: Cabot 1526-7, Mendoza 1535-6, Cabrera 1538, and later on Cabeza de Vaca 1540-1. Over 900 of the 1,088 identified settlers arrived with the Adelantado Don Pedro de Mendoza, whose enormous prestige in his native Granada explains the heavy contribution to this expedition, not only of Granada (69), but also of the neighboring provinces of Málaga (78), Jaén (64), Córdoba (61) and Seville (96). There were unusually few Extremeños, but an unusually large percentage of Portuguese, who are the forerunners of a stream of emigration to the Río de la Plata, Paraguay and Tucumán which in later periods will assume even greater proportions.

Through 1539 the regional contributions are as follows: Andalusia 449 (41.3%), Old Castile 160 (14.7%), New Castile 107 (9.9%), Extremadura 69 (only 6.3%), Portugal 59 (5.4%), the Basque provinces 53 (4.9%), León 43 (4.0%), Flanders 25 (2.3%), Italy 25 (2.3%), Galicia 19 (1.7%), Murcia 17 (1.5%), Navarre 10 (0.9%), Asturias 8 (0.7%), Valencia and the Balearic Islands 7 (0.6%), France 7 (0.6%), Aragon 6 (0.5%), Catalonia 6 (0.5%), Germany 6 (0.5%), the Canaries 4 (0.4%), England 4 (0.4%), Greece 2 (0.2%)

and Corsica 1 (0.1%). Total: 1,088, of whom 130 (or 11.9%) were foreigners! The best represented provinces are Seville 110, Málaga 81, Granada 71, Jaén 70, Córdoba 69, Toledo 50, Valladolid 42, Badajoz 39, Cáceres 29, Burgos and Salamanca 27 each, Ávila 25, Cádiz 24 and Cuenca 21.[13]

Asunción (Paraguay).

On the first inhabitants of this remote and isolated center of colonial activity we have at this time comparatively little data. Founded towards the end of the period under consideration, the city received its first great impulse with the abandonment, in 1541, of the ill-fated city of Buenos Aires and the emigration of its numerous inhabitants towards the interior. Of the original colonists who arrived with Mendoza in 1536 and among the small reinforcements received before the arrival in 1541 of Cabeza de Vaca, we have been able to identify only 145 who reappear, principally from 1541 on, as vecinos of Asunción. The following calculations, based as they are on a rather small total, should be used with reservations: Andalusians 49 (33.9%), Old Castile 19 (13.1%), Portuguese 18 (12.4%!), Basques 14 (9.7%), New Castile 13 (9.0%), León 5 (3.4%), Flanders 5 (3.4%), Galicia 4 (2.7%), Italy 4 (2.7%), England 3 (2%), Extremadura 2 (1.4%), Germany 2 (1.4%), France 2 (1.4%), plus 1 each (0.7%) from Aragon, Navarre, Valencia, Murcia and the Canaries.

What was unique was the heterogenous, almost cosmopolitan nature of the population. Almost one quarter of the inhabitants were foreigners, and one in every eight was a Portuguese! Extremadura, León, and the western and eastern regions of Spain contributed very little (only 11%).

Conclusion

This short article is based on the preliminary studies to Volume II (1520-1539) of our Indice geobiográfico de 40,000 pobladores españoles de América en el siglo XVI. It does not reproduce the maps, charts and statistical tables indicating the origin, direction and volume of the flow of emigration in each year. In the body of the work itself there appear listed by province and town, and within each town in alphabetical order, the colonists of certain or near-certain origin. The biographical data, systematically abbreviated, normally furnishes the names of the emigrant and of his parents, the town in which he was born or domiciled, the year of his departure for America, and his destination in the New World. In many cases we have additional data on the emigrant's social and marital status, his profession or occupation, his kinship with other emigrants, his principal voyages and

activities in America, and the year and place of his death. To facilitate its use each volume has an index of surnames, another of destinations, and another of social ranks and occupations. Although this work, the first of its kind, lays no claim to being complete or entirely free of error, we hope that it will prove a useful reference work to all historians, sociologists and linguists interested in the peninsular origins of American-Spanish society.

NOTES

1. The Institute Caro y Cuervo had had the manuscripts since 1959, together with a large subsidy from the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation of New York, but due to a number of economic and editorial problems Volume I (La época antillana 1493-1519) did not appear until 1964.
2. For the statistics on 5,481 colonists of the Antillean period (1493-1519) see our article "Regional Origins of the Earliest Spanish Colonists of America," PMLA, December 1956, pp. 1152-1172.
3. In the statistical tables on the annual emigration from Spain each colonist is counted only once, according to the year he first sails to America or is first located there, even though he may subsequently have crossed the Atlantic several times more. However, in the study of individual regions of America we were obliged to count as legitimate colonists even those who had taken part in earlier conquests or previous settlements. For the purposes of our statistics we have chosen to disregard brief sojourns in other parts of America, inter-American expeditions that did not colonize (e.g. Almagro's to Chile in 1535), or second departures from Spain unless to a new destination.
4. Even within the second period itself the same caution is in order: the scarcity of data for the years 1520-25 and 1529-33 merely reflects the lacunae corresponding to these years in the registries of passengers to the Indies, lacunae which we were able to fill only in part by consulting colonial and other sources.
5. The insignificant contribution from the Canary Islands (0.1% in the Antillean period, 0.2% in this one) would make us doubt our figures were they not borne out by the almost total lack of Canary Island colonists in the colonial sources themselves. Rodríguez Arzúa, basing his study entirely on the first two volumes of the Catálogo de pasajeros a Indias (1509-38) found only 14 Canary Islanders among 13,388 passengers (0.1%). We, supplementing the Catálogo with all kinds of colonial documents, were hardly able to find any more. The conclusion is inescapable that in the beginning the Canaries did indeed send very few colonists, despite the fact that these islands were, as Rodríguez Arzúa remarks (p. 704), "zona de escala, reparación y aprovisionamiento" (Revista de Indias (Madrid), XXX (1947), pp. 695-748).

6. Among the Italians we have included Genoese, Corsicans, Sardinians, Sicilians and Maltese.

7. The remainder are the foreigners (already counted) and a small number of emigrants, designated only as Basques, Galicians, Andalusians, etc. who could be assigned to a region but not to a specific province.

8. The remaining 93 emigrants (5.4%) are those described merely as "de Sevilla", which does not make clear whether or not they were born there, and a few cases that are probably but not sufficiently certain.

9. From the very beginning we occasionally found vecinos of Seville who were actually born elsewhere, as for example Juan de Iranza (hijo de vecinos de Azpeitia, a Indias 12), Juan Vela (hijo de vecinos de Peñafiel, a Indias 12), Antonio Ponce (catalán, a Plata 27), fray Francisco de Andrada (portugués, a Plata 35), or Olonso Delgado (natural de Madrid, a Indias 39). Pedro Manso, a nephew of the bishop of Puerto Rico, in 1522 describes himself as "vecino de Palencia, estante en Sevilla," then in 1526 as "natural de Paredes de Nava (Palencia), estante en Seville," but the following year, on the eve of his departure for Puerto Rico, as just plain "vecino de Sevilla." Naturally none of these individuals were counted as sevillanos. But we occasionally found the opposite phenomenon. Francisco de Cala, a "vecino de Sevilla" leaving for Cartegena in 1535, emigrated a second time to Mexico in 1539 calling himself "vecino de Cantillana" (Catalogo de pasajeros a Indias, II, 55 and III, 952).

10. "los vizcaynos (mas que otras naciones) son ejercitados en las cosas de la mar..." (Oviedo, Historia natural y general de las Indias, IV, p.462).

11. An expedition, led by the viceroy Mendoza himself, went to New Galicia in 1541 to crush a general uprising by the Indians of that area. Of the 129 expeditionaries we were able to identify, 33 were Old Castilians, 25 Andalusians, 23 Extremenos, 22 New Castilians, 8 Leonese and 4 Basques.

12. If we include 92 additional conquistadores of Peru who had emigrated to America prior to 1520, Andalusia gains 36, Extremadura 16, Old Castile 15, New Castile 10, Leon 10, and Galicia, the Basque region, Asturia, the Canaries and Italy one each. The new percentages, now based on a total of 1,434, are Andalusia 23.2%, Old Castile 21.8%, Extremadura

20.2%, New Castile 13.7%, León 8.0%, the Basque provinces 5.2%, Galicia 1.9%, Asturias 0.6%, the Canaries 0.1%, and Italy 1.2%.

13. Discussing the first expeditionaries to the Río de la Plata General Bartolomé Mitre (Historia de Belgrano, I, 14) called them "procedentes en su mayor parte de las provincias de Vizcaya y Andalucía," and went on to say that "Nacidos y criados una gran parte de ellos en comarcas laboriosas, en puertos del mar como Cádiz, Sevilla y Sanlúcar, en ciudades como Madrid, Toledo, Valladolid, Córdoba, Zaragoza y Salamanca, traían en su mente otras nociones prácticas y otras luces que faltaban a los habitantes de los valles y aldeas de Extremadura, de Galicia, o de Castilla la Vieja, que dieron su contingente a la colonización del Perú, en la que su más grande caudillo no sabía escribir ni su nombre." Neither of the above statements has much foundation in fact. Vizcaya furnished very few colonists indeed (only 1.7%), while the ports of Cádiz and Sanlúcar, which he mentions, together with the ports of Huelva, Lepe, Moguer and Palos, which are presumably included in his "Puertos del mar," happen to be located in precisely those Andalusian provinces which contributed least to the early settlement of the Río de la Plata. Nor was Mitre right about Madrid and Zaragoza. As for his allusion to the conquest of Peru, Galicia's contribution was in reality very small (only 2.0%). And his last sentence appears to insinuate among other things that Francisco Pizarro, who could neither read nor write, was typical of the conquerors of Peru, and that these were consequently less educated than the conquerors of the Río de la Plata. Needless to say, such statements are historically quite unjustified.

REGIONAL ORIGINS OF THE SPANISH COLONISTS OF AMERICA: 1540-1559

As part of a long-range study of XVIth Century Spanish emigration to the New World, this article offers for the first time some rather detailed statistics on European emigration between the years 1540 and 1559.* These findings, when added to our earlier ones of 1956[1] and 1964[2], reveal the existence of rather consistent patterns of emigration during the formative decades of Spanish colonial society.

Our 1956 study furnished statistics, including regional origins, on 5,481 settlers who had emigrated to America by 1520. Its findings revealed the prominent role played by the "Fertile Crescent," that small chain of just five southwestern provinces (Sevilla, Huelva, Badajoz, Cáceres and Salamance) which accounted for over half the earliest settlers. They indicated further that the single city of Seville, which furnished one colonist out of every six as well as half of all the women, was the center of an expanding maritime empire which linguistically as well as in other matters looked to Seville rather than to the refined courts of Toledo or Madrid. The frontier dialect of Andalusia, insofar as it may have differed in those days from its Castilian parent, was thus in a position to influence decisively the formation of the earliest American Spanish dialect, namely the one which developed in the Antilles during the decades preceding the large-scale settlement of tierra firme. It was this insular Spanish koiné, with its store of Antilleanisms, that was later carried by island settlers to the mainland.

After lengthy delays, the volume on which the above-mentioned study was based was finally published (1964) by the Instituto Caro y Cuervo in Bogotá with financial support from the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation.[3] As for the manuscripts of Volumes II (1520-1539) and III (1540-1559), both finished but as yet unpublished, they furnish biographical data on an additional 22,538 men, women and children who arrived in the New World between 1520 and 1559.[4]

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* Because of the large numbers of emigrants studies, and the importance of chronology in assessing the influence exerted by each region of the Spanish peninsula, our statistics are based on periods of twenty years each with the exception of the earliest, more sparsely documented Antillean period that ended with the invasion of Mexico.

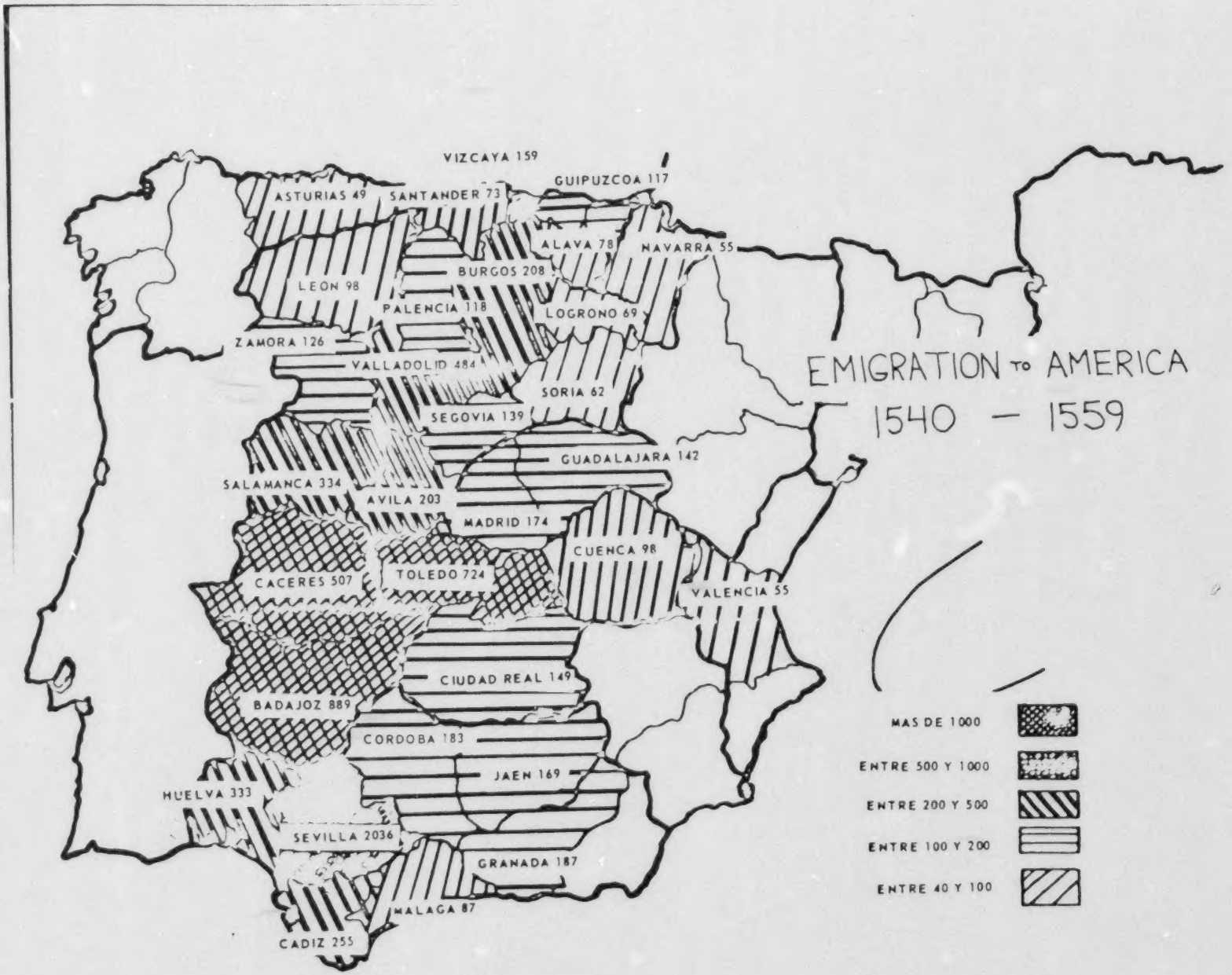
Regional Emigration to the New World 1520-1539

In the second period, which saw the Spanish language carried to the mainland by conquering expeditions to Mexico, Central America, Venezuela, Perú, Chile and the Río de la Plata, our "Fertile Crescent" of emigration expanded to include the provinces of Toledo and Valladolid. Huelva, so prominent in the beginning, lost some ground, but Extremadura, especially Badajoz, made substantial gains, thanks in part to the influence of important native sons like Cortés, Pizarro and de Soto. Just six provinces[5] accounted for over half of the 13,262 new emigrants tabulated for this period.

Andalusians, who in the first, or Antillean, period represented roughly 40 percent of the total emigrants, dropped to 32 percent in the second period but still accounted for 48 percent of all the sailors, 50 percent of the merchants, and 58 percent of all the women. Indeed the ratio of women to men among the Andalusian emigrants (1:9) was double that of any other region, while in the case of the city of Seville itself it was one out of every six!

To what parts of America did these second period emigrants go? An analysis of 12,426 recorded destinations reveals that 32.4 percent (almost a third) went to Mexico, 11 percent to Santo Domingo, 10.8 percent to Peru, 8.8 percent to the Rio de la Plata, 7.7 percent to Panama, 7.3 percent to Nueva Granada, 5.6 percent to Florida, 3.7 percent to Guatemala, 2.8 percent to Venezuela, 2.2 percent to Yucatan, 1.6 percent to Cuba, 1.1 percent to Nicaragua, 0.9 percent to Puerto Rico, and 0.6 percent to Honduras.

Among other interesting details that came to light were the continued heavy concentration of Andalusians in the Antilles (46 percent in Santo Domingo, 41 percent in Cuba), and the contribution, by just two provinces (Sevilla and Badajoz), of 1/3 of all the settlers of both Mexico and Panama. Contrary to frequent claims, the preponderance of Andalusians and Extremeños in Perú does not appear to have been very marked, at least not in the early years. The Río de la Plata was the region that attracted by far the highest number of foreigners (almost 12 percent!), many of them Portuguese. In fact, in the important city of Asunción, the proportion of foreigners was one in every four!


VIZCAYA 159
GUIPUZCOA 117
ASTURIAS 49
SANTANDER 73
ALAVA 78
NAVARRA 55
BURGOS 208
LEON 98
PALENCIA 118
LOGRONO 69
ZAMORA 126
VALLADOLID 484
SORIA 62
SEGOVIA 139
GUADALAJARA 142
SALAMANCA 334
AVILA 203
MADRID 174
CUENCA 98
CACERES 507
TOLEDO 724
VALENCIA 55
CIUDAD REAL 149
BADAJOZ 889
CORDOBA 183
JAEN 169
HUELVA 333
SEVILLA 2036
GRANADA 187
MALAGA 87
CADIZ 255
EMIGRATION TO AMERICA
1540 – 1559
MAS DE 1000
ENTRE 500 Y 1000
ENTRE 200 Y 500
ENTRE 100 Y 200
ENTRE 40 Y 100

Emigration to the New World 1540-1559

Our statistics for this period are based on 9,044 identified emigrants, of whom 55 percent, or well over half, hailed from that chain of six provinces (Sevilla, Badajoz, Cáceres, Toledo, Salamanca and Valladolid) which we have already dubbed the "Fertile Crescent."[6] (See map)

Ranking by regions 1540-1559

The Andalusian contribution, down to 32.0 percent in the period immediately preceding, has climbed again to 36.1 percent with 3269 identified out of 9044. Extremadura takes second place with 1416 (15.7 percent), Old Castile ranks third with 1390 (15.4 percent), New Castile fourth with 1303 (14.4 percent), León fifth with 559 (6.2 percent), Vascongadas sixth with 396 (4.4 percent). Foreigners rank seventh with 332 (3.7 percent),[7] Galicia eighth with 73 (0.8 percent), Valencia ninth with 62 (0.7 percent), Navarra tenth with 55 (0.6 percent), Murcia eleventh with 50 (0.5 percent), Asturias twelfth with 49 (0.5 percent), Aragón thirteenth with 40 (0.4 percent), the Canaries fourteenth with 24 (0.3 percent), Catalonia fifteenth with 23 (0.3 percent) and the Balearic Islands last with only 3 (0.0 percent).

Ranking by provinces 1540-1559

Once again the province of Seville heads the list, this time with 2036 identified emigrants. Next, in descending order, follow 2. Badajoz (889), 3. Toledo (724), 4. Cáceres (507), 5. Valladolid (484), 6. Salamanca (334), 7. Huelva (333), 8. Cádiz (255), 9. Burgos (208), 10. Ávila (203), 11. Granada (187), 12. Córdoba (183), 13. Madrid (174), 14. Jaén (169), 15. Vizcaya (159), 16. Ciudad Real (149), 17. Guadalajara (142), 18. Segovia (139), 19. Zamora (126), 20. Palencia (118), 21. Guipúzcoa (117), 22. León (98) and Cuenca (98); 24. Malaga (87), 25. Alava (78), 26. Santander (73), 27. Logro Soria (62), 29. Navarra (55) and Valencia (55). All others sent under 50 each.

Emigration from the cities 1540-1559

Whereas in the second period (1520-1539) just seventeen towns accounted for almost exactly one third (4417) of the 13,262 emigrants identified, in the third period (1540-1559) it took only ten cities to do this, which suggests that emigration was becoming increasingly urban. The ten cities were: 1) Sevilla-Triana 1790, 2) Toledo 170, 3) Vallodolid 169, 4) Trujillo (Cáceres) 154, 5) Granada 152, 6) Salamanca 141, 7) Talavera (Toledo) 129, 8) Palos-Moguer 108, 9) Córdoba 101, 10) Madrid 93. Total: 3,007 (out of 9,044).

Next came 11) Medina del Campo (Valladolid) 92, 12) Medellín (Badajoz) 91, 13) Plasencia (Cáceres) 87, 14) Ciudad Rodrigo (Salamanca) 77, 15) Jerez de la Frontera (Cádiz) 71, 16) Olmedo (Valladolid) 70, 17) Burgos 67, 18) Cáceres 64, 19) Segovia and Sanlúcar de Barrameda (Cádiz) 62 each, 21) Ávila 61, 22) Guadalcanal (Sevilla) 53, 23) Mérida (Badajoz) 51, 24) Guadalajara and Málaga 49 each, 26) Lepe (Huelva) 47, 28) Badajoz 45, 29) Azuaga (Badajoz) 44, Jaén 44, Valencia 44 and Valverde (Badajoz) 44, 33) Puerto de Santa María (Cádiz) 41, 34) Bilbao (Vizcaya) and Ontiveros (Ávila) 40 each, 36) León and Medina de Ríoseco (Valladolid) 39 each, 38) Arévalo (Avila) 38.

The 38 cities and towns just listed accounted forover 50 percent of all emigrants to the New World in this period. Next follow in descending order Puente del Arzobispo (Toledo) 36 and Jerez de Badajoz 36, Ciudad Real 35 and Zafra (Badajoz) 35, Écija (Sevilla) 34 and Niebla (Huelva) 34, Cuenca 33 and Zalamea (Badajoz) 33, Fregenal (Badajoz) 32, Ocaña (Toledo) and Ayamonte (Huelva) 31 each, Soria 30, Baeza (Jaén) 29, Antequera (Málaga) 28, Alanje (Badajoz), Huelva and Palencia all with 27, Béjar (Salamanca, Jaraicejo (Cáceres) and Lucena (Córdoba) 26 each, Villanueva de la Serena (Badajoz) 25, Almendralejo (Badajoz) 24 and Villanueva del Fresno (Badajoz) 24, Utrera (Sevilla), Burguillos (Badajoz), Fuente de Cantos (Badajoz), Aznalcázar (Sevilla) and Logroño all with 23, Santa Olalla (Toledo) 22, Carrión (Palencia) Cuéllar (Segovia) and Puebla de Montalbán (Toledo) each with 21, and Alcántara (Cáceres) and Almagro (Ciudad Real) each with 20.

Sixty-one other towns each furnished from 10 to 19.

The City of Seville

Between 1540 and 1559 the supremacy of the city of Seville as the focal city for traffic with the New World continues unchallenged. We counted 1750 emigrants from Seville[8] alone.[8] Once again, in order to allay the suspicion that many of these might not be authentic sevillanos, we re-examined each case and tabulated the results:

A.	'natural y vecino'	346
	'natural'	372
	'hijo (-a) de vecinos'	153
	'hijo (-a) de natural (es)'	63
	'hijo (-a) de natural y vecino'	45
	'hermano (-a) de natural (es)'	13
	'esposa de natural y vecino'	25
	Subtotal:	1017
B	'vecino (-a)'	337
	'esposa de natural'	36
	'esposa de vicino'	48
	'pariente o madre de vecino(s)'	8
	'pariente de naturales'	5
	'nieto (-a) de vecino(s)'	6
	other categories ('sevillano', 'de Sevilla', household servants, probables, unspecified)	293
	Subtotal:	733
	Total:	1750

Even discounting the emigrants listed under B as less positively identified (though in XVIth-century Spain a vecino who was not also a native of that same town or its surrounding district was still more the exception than the rule), we are still left with at least 1017 authentic sevillanos who emigrated, while second-ranking Toledo in the same period sent only 170 colonists (even if we generously accept them all). The conclusion to be drawn from this is that geographical position and the establishment oftthe Casa de Contratación had conferred upon Seville, almost from the beginning, a unique advantage which made emigration for its inhabitants easier and more routine than for those of most other cities.[9]

Overall remarks about emigration 1540-1559

Beginning with the second half of the sixteenth century the character of emigration to the New World underwent a noticeable change. The spirit of heroic adventure was gradually giving way to a more humble quest for economic security. With virtually no rich lands left to conquer attention was turning to consolidation of those already won. Accordingly we find among the emigrants of the second half of the century fewer independent adventurers and more and more women and children going out to join their kinsmen, often 'para hazer vida maridable' with husbands who had emigrated earlier. Professional men and artisans were leaving Spain in increasing numbers to earn their living in the affluent colonies, while numerous others sought passage and economic security in the households of powerful government and ecclesiastical officials. The free-lance adventurer was no longer encouraged to emigrate; indeed, the colonies were embarrassingly full of them already. Seldom did a man now emigrate without a reasonable idea of what his occupation or employment was going to be when he reached America. Furthermore, new decrees had made it illegal for a married man to emigrate without his wife.[10] Other regulations, aimed at preventing the poorer colonies from losing their settlers to richer ones like New Spain and Peru, required some emigrants to post bond to ensure that they would reside in one of the less desirable colonies for periods ranging up to eight years.

Merchants

Among 13,262 colonists of the preceding period (1520-1539) we had identified as merchants 179, fully half of them Andalusians. At first the majority of merchants established themselves in Santo Domingo and on other islands of the Antilles, but with the conquest of Peru, the discovery in 1534 of the rich silver mines of Taxco, and the establishment in the following year of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, the center of commerce shifted to Mexico City.

In the period 1540-1559, the proportion of new merchants and 'factores' arriving in America rose considerably: 494 identified as merchants out of 9,044, or better than one in every twenty. Of these merchants 306 (67.4 percent, or over two thirds) were Andalusians, with Seville alone contributing

233. The rest were made up of 45 Old Castilians (9.9 percent), 35 New Castilians (7.7 percent), 19 Basques (4.2 percent), 17 Extremeños (3.7 percent), 10 Leonese (2.2 percent), 8 Catalans and Valencians and 2 Aragonese (2.2 percent), 1 Asturian, 1 Canary Islander, and only eight foreigners (a marked decline). The principal provinces were Sevilla 233, Huelva 29, Burgos 18, Cádiz 17, and Valladolid and Toledo 15 each. There is a significant change in destinations: Peru now comes first with 179 new merchants, Mexico attracts 108, Panama 96, Nueva Granada 25, the Antilles only 17, Chile 13, Honduras 10, Nicaragua and Guatemala 1 each, while four merchants gave no destination. It will be noted that Panama and Peru have gained greatly in commercial importance. Indeed Panama, with an overwhelming preponderance of Andalusians, numerous merchants, and almost no foreigners at all, is well on its way to becoming the prosperous two-way trading center described by the oidor Dr. Alonso Criado de Castilla in 1575.[11]

Sailors (1540-1559)

Only 104 new sailors were identified as such. The figures show the same three groups as before monopolizing the trade (Andalusians, Basques and foreigners), but in a different ratio. The Andalusians, with 46, accounted for only 44.4 percent of the total number of seamen (in the preceding two periods it was first 69.7 percent, then 47.8 percent). Foreigners, who in the Antillean period furnished 7.4 percent of the sailors and in the next period 20 percent, rose to second place in the third with 38 (36.7 percent), while the Basques, with only 9, fell from 17.2 percent to 8.1 percent (in the Antillean period it was 9.5 percent). The three groups together accounted for 89.2 percent of all the sailors identified. The increasing proportion of foreign sailors is particularly interesting.

Hidalgos

It would be gratifying indeed to be able to shed some new light on the controversy, certainly as old as the Leyenda Negra itself, about whether or not the early colonists of America were composed primarily of the lowest elements of Spanish society. Unfortunately in this as in both previous periods, our sources indicate an emigrant's social rank too sporadically to permit any valid conclusions to be drawn. As we pointed out in Hist.

Mex. XIII (1963), 173, we have repeatedly found cases of emigrants, sometimes even of ones listed merely as criados of some important official, who through supplementary sources prove to be of noble birth tehmselves. In numerous other cases a man's distinguished office or military rank, or else his profession and social prestige, strongly suggest that he was a nobleman even though the fact was not explicitly stated in the source we happened to consult. Other problems confronting us were how to regard the special hidalguía of the Basques, that of missionaries and other clergy, and the status of family members and relatives accompanying a known hidalgo to America. Ruthlessly disqualifying all but hidalgos specifically described as such, our statistics (for men only) yielded 319 known hidalgos out of the 7,564 male emigrants identified for this period, or roughly 4.2%. This figure being the absolutely minimal one, the true percentage may have been considerably higher, but there seems to be no way of determining satisfactorily just how much. For what it is worth, our unsubstantiated impression is that the proportion of hidalgos and of educated men was probably no lower among those who emigrated than among those who stayed behind.

Emigration of women 1540-1559

In the period 1493-1519 women accounted for only 5.6 percent of all emigrants and from 1520-39 it was still only 6.3 percent. But with the increasing security and comfort of urban life in the colonies, more and more colonists began sending for their wives and daughters or seeking status through marriage to Spanish rather than to native girls. At the same time royal edicts were making it harder if not impossible for a married man to emigrate without his wife, or to remain in the New World without sending for her. Accordingly in this period we see the proportion of women jump from 6.3 percent to 16.4 percent, with no less than 1480 of 9,044 identified emigrants being women or girls. Of these, 675 (45.6 percent) were either married (599) or widowed (76), the remaining 805 (54.4 percent) being single. By regions, the breakdown is as follows: Andalusia 742 (50.4 percent), Extremadura 218 (14.8 percent), New Castile 212 (14.5 percent), Old Castile 172 (11.7 percent), León 70 (4.7 percent), the Basque Provinces 21 (1.4 percent), the Canary Islands 12 (0.6 percent), Valencia 7 (0.4 percent), Murcia

6 (0.3 percent), Navarre 4 (0.2 percent), Catalonia 3 (0.2 percent), Galicia 3 (0.2 percent), foreigners 10 (0.3 percent).

Though the ratio of women to men emigrants has risen overall, statistical evidence points to a positive correlation between this ratio and proximity to southern ports, especially Seville. This no doubt reflects in part the hardships of travel for women in XVIth Century Spain. Thus while women accounted for 22.7 percent of third period Andalusian emigrants (from the province of Seville it was 24.1 percent and from the city itself an astonishing 30.3 percent), they represented only 16.3 percent and 15.4 percent respectively of the contingents from New Castile and Extremadura, 12.5 percent and 12.4 percent of the emigrants from more distant León and Old Castile and a mere 5.4 percent and 4.1 percent from the Basque country and Galicia in the extreme North. Asturias, Aragon and the Balearic islands yielded no women at all.

Once again Andalusia alone claims over half of all women who emigrated to the New World between 1540 and 1560 (one in every three was from the city of Seville itself!). Linguistically as well as socially, the importance of this continued preponderance of Andalusians among the Spanish women of the colonies cannot be overemphasized.

Captains

Of the 214 emigrants of this period who gained or held the rank of capitán, 76 were Andalusians (35.6 percent), 36 were Old Castilians (18.6 percent), 30 were Extremeños (14.0 percent), 25 were New Castilians (11.7 percent), 18 were Basques (8.4 percent), 17 were Leonese (7.9 percent), 4 Catalans (1.9 percent), 4 foreigners (1.9 percent), and 1 Navarro (0.5 percent).

In view of the overall figures for male emigration during this period 2527 Andalusians (33.4 percent), 1218 Old Castilians (16.1 percent), 1198 Extremeños (15.8 percent), 1091 New Castilians (14.4 percent), 489 Leonese (6.5 percent), 375 Basques (5.0 percent), 322 foreigners (4.3 percent) the above figures for captains clearly do not support the notion that any one region yielded a significantly higher proportion of military leaders than the others. Andalusia, Old Castile, León and the Basques are a trifle above average, Extremadura, New Castile and the foreigners below it. In absolute

terms, however, Andalusia and Extremadura furnished almost exactly one half of all military commanders.

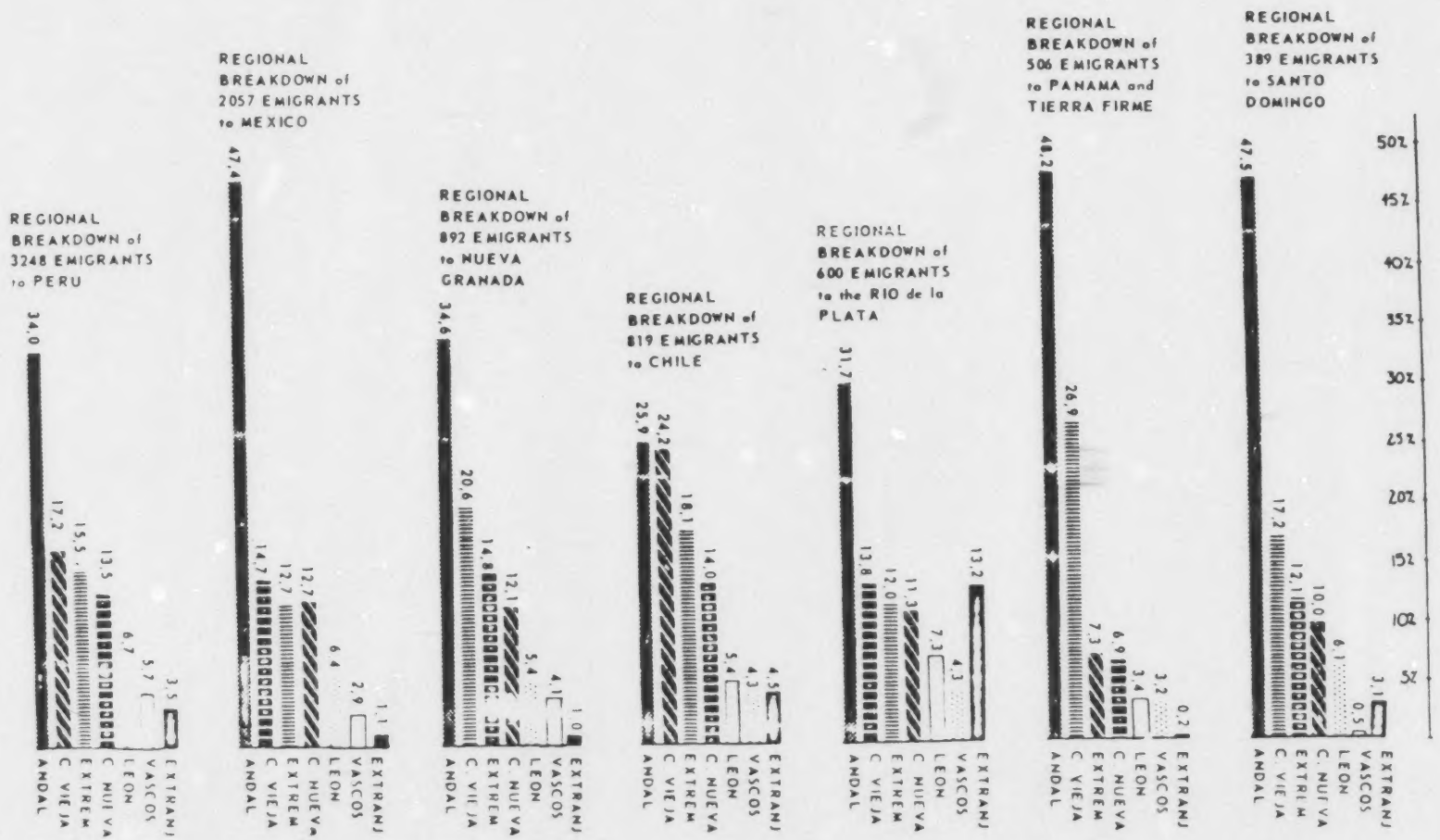
Missionaries and Clergy

Since members of the clergy were not required to furnish information about their birthplace and parentage, the 372 whom I have identified represent only a portion of the number who actually sailed. Of these 372, Old Castile claimed 111 (28.8 percent), Andalusia 98 (26.6 percent), León 43 (11.4 percent), New Castile 40 (10.5 percent), Extremadura 36 (9.7 percent), the Basque Provinces 16 (4.3 percent), all others (including 10 foreigners) 8.7 percent. While numerically the North and the South of Spain each contributed about one half of the clergy who emigrated between 1540 and 1560, the North sent somewhat a higher proportion of clergy relative to other emigrants from the same area.

Servants

In the Antillean period (1493-1519) the proportion of Andalusians among servants (48.4 percent) was significantly higher than among the emigrants as a whole (39.7 percent). By the third period the picture has changed considerably. Though the true figure may have been much higher, 880 (or roughly one in ten) of the emigrants were clearly identifiable as servants, and of these the Andalusians account for only 33.3 percent, less than the Andalusian percentage among emigrants as a whole (36.0 percent). Extremadura, with a 15.7 percent share of the total emigrants, provides only 13.6 percent of the servants, the Basques remain rather steady with 4.1 percent of the servants (versus 4.4 percent overall),[12] while León and the two Castiles show higher proportions among the servants (Old Castile 19.2 percent, New Castile 16.2 percent, Leon 7.2 percent) than among the emigrants overall (Old Castile 15.4 percent, New Castile 14.4 percent, León 6.2 percent). This despite the fact that over half of the 72 female servants were from the province of Seville alone. The foregoing statistics, though of course not conclusive, tend to indicate in a general way that the Andalusian emigrants, always the most numerous, were in this period not inferior to those of other regions even socially.[13]

SETTLEMENT IN THE NEW WORLD: 1540-1559



Perhaps the explanation may be either that proximity to the ports of embarkation made it somewhat easier for Andalusians to emigrate on their own, or that emigration was becoming more fashionable and was therefore involving higher strata of society than it had earlier. León, with 6.2 percent overall, furnished 7.2 percent of the servants (63), the Basques with 36 servants, are about average (4.1 percent vs. 4.4 percent). Valencia sent 14 servants, Navarre 11, Galicia 9, Asturias 8, Aragon 4, Murcia 3, Catalonia 2 and foreign countries 4 (2 Italians, 1 Fleming and 1 Greek). Total: 880. The provinces sending the most servants were: Seville 206 (including the entire Andalusian contingent of women-servants), Badajoz 81, Valladolid 67, Toledo 46, Cáceres 39, Cuenca 33, and Madrid 28.

Destinations in America 1540-1559

In the third period (1540-1559), Peru replaces Mexico as the most popular destination, with 3248 new settlers identified as opposed to only 2057 for Mexico. Out of 8,786 new emigrants with specific destinations in America, Peru claimed 3248 (37.0 percent), Mexico 2057 (23.4 percent), New Granada 892 (10.2 percent), Chile 819 (9.0 percent), the Plate Region 600 (6.8 percent), Tierra Firme 506 (5.8 percent), Santo Domingo 389 (4.4 percent), all others combined only 255 (2.9 percent). Let us now examine each of the major destinations in some detail.

Emigration to Peru

Among the 3248 new emigrants to Peru, the most popular third period destination, we counted 1103 Andalusians (34.0 percent), 559 Old Castilians (17.2 percent), 505 Extremeños (15.5 percent), 438 New Castilians (13.5 percent), 218 Leonese (6.7 percent), 186 Basques (5.7 percent), 24 Valencians (0.7 percent), 23 Navarros (0.7 percent), 21 Galicians (0.6 percent), 20 Aragonese (0.6 percent), 19 Asturians (0.5 percent), 12 Murcians (0.4 percent), 6 Catalans (0.2 percent), and 114 foreigners (3.5 percent). The latter were composed of 62 Portuguese (3 of them from the Azores), 28 Italians (among them 10 Genoese, 1 Corsican and 1 Sardinian), 9 Flemish, 6 Greeks, 3 Frenchmen, 3 Hungarians and 3 from other countries.

We noted with interest that of the 114 foreigners, 59 (or over half) appeared for the first time in 1548, listed among the defeated followers of Gonzalo Pizarro. That foreigners, feeling no particular loyalty to the Spanish crown, would more readily participate in defying royal authority than native-born Spaniards is suggested by the fact that foreigners represented only 3.5 percent of the third period emigrants to Peru, but an astonising 12.3 percent of those who rebelled with Pizarro against the Crown![14]

Among the Spanish provinces, the principal contributors to the settlement of Peru in this period were, in descending order: Seville (609), Badajoz (284), Cáceres (215), Toledo (186), Valladolid (154), Salamanca (136), Huelva (130), Ávila (124), Cádiz (106), Córdoba (102).

Lima and Cuzco

Before passing on, let us look briefly at the composition of the early settlers of Lima and Cuzco, for each of which we have totals large enough to warrant analysis.

Lima, by 1540, had 247 inhabitants whom we were able to identify, and of those, the Andalusians (with 28%) and the Extremeños (with 20.7%) accounted for almost half. The city also had an unusually large contingent of Basques (10.1%). But among 445 residents of Lima who emigrated between 1540 and 1559 we found that, due perhaps to the impact of the Pizarrist rebellion in Peru, the proportion of Extremeños dropped conspicuously to 14.9% (a loss more than made up by the increase in settlers from New Castile, home of the new Viceroy Mendoza). The cumulative figures for Lima (up through 1559) are as follows: Andalusians 186 (27%), Old Castilians 120 (17.4%), Extremeños 117 (17%), New Castilians 108 (15.6%), Basques 59 (8.6% - still very high), Leonese 33 (4.8%), foreigners 27 (3.9%), and all other combined 40 (5.8%). Total: 690. The provinces best represented in Lima were Seville (90), Badajoz (60) and Cáceres (54).

For Cuzco, the former Inca capital, we found 166 identified residents from the second period and 101 from the third, giving us through 1559 a cumulative total of 267. These included 74 Andalusians (27.7%), 64 Extremeños (24%), 37 Old Castilians (13.9%), 28 New Castilians and 28 Leonese (10.5% each), and 13 Basques (4.9%). The Pizarros' home province of Cáceres was, not surprisingly, the best represented (35), followed by Seville (34), Badajoz (25), Toledo (21) and Huelva (17).

New Spain

The most significant fact about the third period emigrants to Mexico is that nearly one half of them were Andalusians. Of the 2057 new settlers, 976 (or 47.4 percent) claimed Andalusia as their region of origin, and of these 976, 743 hailed from the province (and most often the city) of Seville! Another 82 were from the province of Granada, home of the Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza.[15]

New Castile was a poor second with 302 settlers (14.7 percent), Old Castile third with 262 (12.7 percent), Extremadura fourth with 261 (12.7 percent). Then follow León with 131 (6.4 percent), the Basque Provinces with 60 (2.9 percent), Asturias and Galicia with only 8 (0.4 percent) apiece, Aragon and Valencia each with 6 (0.3 percent), Murcia with 5 (0.3 percent), Navarre and Catalonia with 4 each (0.2 percent) and the Balearic and Canary Islands each with 1 (0.0 percent). Lastly, there were 22 foreigners (1.1 percent) of whom 11 were Genoese and other Italians, 7 were Portuguese and 4 French.

The provinces contributing the largest contingents were: Seville 743, Toledo 190, Badajoz 179, Salamanca 87, Granada 82, Cáceres 80, Valladolid 74 and Burgos 62.

Mexico City

Among the 236 new residents of Mexico City, the imbalance was even greater: 145 Andalusians (61.4 percent), 34 New Castilians (14.4 percent), 20 Extremeños (8.5 percent), 15 Old Castilians (6.4 percent), 10 Leonese (4.2 percent), 4 Catalans (1.7 percent), of Basques, Galicians and Navarrese 2 each (0.8 percent), plus 1 Aragonese and 1 Genoese (0.4 percent each).[16]

The principal provinces were Seville 83(!), Granada 28, Toledo 22, Badajoz 17, Huelva 15, Jaén, 11, and Ciudad Real 10.

Cumulative data on the settlers of Tenochtitlán: 1521-1559

By the end of our third period 1150 of our identified settlers had resided, for varying periods of time, in Mexico City. Of these, 228 had arrived in the New World before 1520, another 686 before 1540, and 236 between 1540 and 1559. Cumulatively, the breakdown is as follows:

Andalusia 444 (38.6 percent), Old Castile 184 (16.0 percent), New Castile 136 (11.9 percent), Extremadura 135 (11.7 percent), León 100 (8.7 percent), Basques 47 (4.1 percent), Portugal 23 (2.0 percent), Italy (including Genoa) 18 (1.6 percent), Galicia 13 (1.1 percent), Aragon 12 (1.0 percent), Navarra 8 (0.7 percent), Catalonia 6 (0.5 percent).

Comparing these cumulative figures for Mexico City with the cumulative regional contributions to America as a whole, we find that Extremadura's share in the white population of Tenochtitlán was low (11.7 percent instead of 15.8 percent), that of Andalusia larger by about the same number of percentage points, while those of the other regions were about normal.

Chile

Since Diego de Almagro's short-lived 1535 expedition to Chile resulted in no actual settlement, our statistics disregard it. Instead, we begin with that of Pedro de Valdivia, which, though composed of men who had all emigrated prior to 1539, did not reach Chile until 1540. This puts the conquest of Chile entirely within our present or third period (1540-59) and it is here for the first time that we propose to treat it. Our principal sources, beside Vols. II and III of the Catálogo de pasajeros a Indias, were Luis Roa y Ursua's monumental El Reyno de Chile (Valladolid, 1945), and Tomás Thayer Ojeda's Formación de la sociedad chilena (3 vols., Prensas de la Universidad de Chile, 1939-1943). The latter's little volume entitled Valdivia y sus companeros (Santiago de Chile, 1950), written in old age shortly before his death, is marred by serious flaws which we must attribute to an ailing scholar's declining years. (Cf. our review of this work is HAHR (1951), pp. 691-693.)

We have made a statistical study of 999 Europeans who arrived in Chile between the years 1540 and 1559. Of these, 116 came with Valdivia's original expedition and 64 more were second period emigrants to America who entered Chile later, mostly in 1549 and in 1557 (with Don García Hurtado de Mendoza). Let us first examine the proportions of these 180 'veterans'. There were 49 Andalusians (27.2 percent), 32 Old Castilians (17.8 percent), 30 Extremeños (16.7 percent), 28 New Castilians (15.6 percent), 13 Leonese (7.2 percent), 12 Basques (6.7 percent), 3 from Galicia and Murcia (1.7 percent each), one each (0.5 percent) from Asturias, Navarre, Baleares and the

Canaries. Also there were two Portuguese, one German, two Genoese and one other Italian making a total of six identified foreigners (3.3 percent). The ranking provinces were Seville 27, Badajoz 16, Valladolid 13, Madrid and Toledo 11 each.

The proportion of Andalusians in the above tabulation, already quite low, declines even further in that of the 819 settlers of Chile who left Spain in 1540 or later. Among these we found 212 Andalusians (25.9 percent), 194 Old Castilians (24.2 percent), 148 Extremeños (18.1 percent), 115 New Castilians (14.0 percent), 44 Basques (5.4 percent), 35 Leonese (4.3 percent), 14 Galicians (1.7 percent), 5 Aragonese (0.6 percent), 4 Navarrese, 4 Asturians and 4 Murcians (0.5 percent each), 3 Valencians (0.4 percent) and 37 foreigners (4.5 percent) of whom 16 were Italians and Genoese, 7 Portuguese, 6 Greek, 5 German and 3 Flemish.

The provinces best represented were Valladolid 123, Badajoz 115 (this was the native province of Pedro de Valdivia himself), Seville 107, Toledo 51, Córdoba 35, Ciudad Real and Cáceres (both 30), Burgos 26 and Huelva 25. The majority of these 819 colonists left Spain in 1554 and 1555 with the new governor Jerónimo de Alderete (who died en route to Chile), and arrived after some delay with the military forces of Governor Mendoza in 1557.

Santiago de Chile

We have identified 150 third period colonists who at one time or another resided in this city, most of them in the second half of the XVIth Century. These consisted of a mere 33 Andalusians (22.0 percent), 27 Extremeños (18.0 percent), 26 New Castilians (17.3 percent), 25 Old Castilians (16.7 percent), 10 Leonese (6.7 percent), 5 Basques (3.3 percent), 4 Galicians (2.7 percent), one each (0.6 percent) from Murcia, Catalonia, Baleares and the Canaries, and no less than 16 foreigners (10.7 percent), which made Santiago de Chile the city with the highest percentage of foreigners next to Asunción (Paraguay).

The New Kingdom of Granada

Between 1540 and 1559 our third most frequently named destination was the Nuevo Reino de Granada, under which heading we have also included Cartagena, Santa Marta and Popayán. Of the 892 new identified settlers of

this area, 242 went specifically to Popayán or the Caribbean coast, the other 650 presumably to Bogotá and other regions of the interior. An unusually high proportion of the new settlers (20.6%) were Extremeños (as opposed to only 12.7% in the preceding period). In fact, the South of Spain (Andalusia, Extremadura, New Castile and Murcia, contributed 72.6% of the new colonists. There were few Old Castilians and very few foreigners. The actual figures are: Andalusia 309 (34.6%), Extremadura 84 (20.6%), New Castile 132 (14.8%), Old Castile 108 (12.1%), León 48 (5.4%), the Basque Provinces 37 (4.1%), Murcia 23 (2.6%), Navarre 17 (1.9%), Galicia 10 (1.1%), Asturias 7 (0.9%), Valencia 4 (0.5%), Canarias 3 (0.4%), Catalonia 1 (0.1%). From other countries came 7 Portuguese, 1 Fleming and 1 Moor for a total of 9 (1.0%).

The individual provinces best represented were Seville 182 (1/5 of the total!), Badajoz 124, Toledo 72, Cáceres 59, Huelva 48 and Valladolid 45.

The Río de la Plata 1540-1559

The unique composition of the colonists who settled in the Plate region prior to 1540 (e.g. 41.3% Andalusian, 11.9% foreign (!), only 6.3% Extremeño), continues to manifest itself in the two decades that follow, though the initial flood of Andalusians accompanying the Andalusian adelantado Don Pedro de Mendoza has largely subsided. However the percentage of foreigners, already the highest in any of the colonies, rises still further to an astonishing 13.2%, composed mostly of Portuguese and Italians.

Among the 600 new settlers for whom we were able to find home towns in Europe we counted 190 Andalusians (31.7%, 83 New Castilians (13.8%), 79 foreigners (13.2%), 72 Extremeños (12.0%), 68 Old Castilians (11.3%), 44 Basques (7.3%), 26 Leonese (4.3%), 11 Galicians (1.8%), 7 Valencians (1.2%), 5 Aragonese (0.8%), 4 Navarrese (0.7%), 2 each (0.3%) from Catalonia and the Balearic Islands, one Canary Islander (0.2%), and one Murcian. Of these 600 settlers, no less than 371 left Spain in 1540 with Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, whose native province of Cádiz, not surprisingly, furnished the largest single contingent. For the period 1540-1559 the principal contributing provinces are Cádiz 58, Toledo 52, Seville 47, Badajoz and Cáceres 34 each, Jaén 33 and Granada 31. As for the 79 foreigners, they were made up of 29 Portuguese, 26 Genoese and other Italians, 9 Greeks, 8 Flemings, 4 Frenchmen, plus an Englishman, a Dutchman and a Sicilian.

It is worth noting how few Galicians came to the Plate region in the early decades of the colony (1.7% in the period 1520-39, 1.8% in the period 1540-59). Not till considerably later did the emigration of gallegos to the Place region reach such proportions that in modern Argentina the term gallego is often applied indiscriminately to immigrants from any part of Spain.

Asunción (Paraguay)

Founded towards the very end of our second period, the city received its first great impetus with the abandonment, in 1541, of the ill-fated city of Buenos Aires and the emigration of its numerous inhabitants to the interior. Of the original colonists who arrived with Pedro de Mendoza in 1536 and among the small reinforcements received before the arrival in 1541 of Cabeza de Vaca, we were able to identify only 145 who reappeared, principally from 1541 on, as vecinos of Asunción. Noteworthy among them were the virtual absence of Leonese and Extremeños and the extraordinarily high proportion of foreigners (almost 25%), half of whom were Portuguese.

When to the above we add 244 third period emigrants who settled in Asunción between 1541 and 1559, we get a total of 389 early residents of Asunción, among whom the largest group, next to the usual Andalusians, were the foreigners,who alone comprised almost a fifth of the total white population! Old Castile and Extremadura, on the other hand, were poorly represented. Here are the figures, which make the composition of the city's population unique among the major colonial centers: Andalusia 111 (28.5%), foreigners 75 (19.3%!), New Castile 50 (12.8%), Extremadura and Old Castile 39 (only 10.0%) each, the Basques 28 (7.2%), León 17 (4.4%), Galicia 10 (2.6%), Canarias 4 (1.0%), Navarre, Aragon and Baleares 3 (0.8%) each, Valencia 2 (0.5%) and Murcia 1 (0.3%).

The 75 foreigners were made up of 36 Portuguese, 20 Italians (among them 8 Genoese and 2 Sardinians), 7 Flemings, 4 Greeks, 3 Frenchmen, 3 Englishmen and 2 Germans!

Tierra Firme (Panama, Nombre de Dios)

No other region of America shows such an overwhelming preponderance of settlers from the south of Spain as Tierra Firme in this period. Among 506 new settlers identified we counted 244 Andalusians (48.2%) and 136 Extremeños (26.9%, who alone accounted for three quarters of the white population! The remainder was made up of 37 Old Castilians (7.3%), 35 New Castilians (6.9%), 17 Basques (3.4%), 16 Leonese (3.2%), 5 Navarrese and 5 Valencians (1.0% each), 4 Catalans (0.8%), 3 Murcians (0.6%), 2 Canary Islanders (0.4%), one Galician and one Italian (0.2% each).[17]

Nearly two fifths of the new settlers came from just one province: Seville!

Some distance behind Seville, with its total of 191, trail the provinces of Badajoz and Cáceres, with 71 and 64 respectively. Huelva is fourth with 26. Thus the southwest corner of Spain, contributing as it did almost 70% of the settlers as well as the bulk of the merchants (see supra) was clearly consolidating its position astride the isthmus that controlled the lucrative trade between Europe and Peru.

Since Panama and Nombre de Dios were twin cities at either end of the shuttle service across the narrow isthmus, it was probably not too significant which of those two places the emigrant chose to name as his destination at the time he left Spain. In practice, a larger number tended to name Nombre de Dios, because that was where they would actually disembark. Because of the frequent lack of distinction among the terms Tierra Firme, Nombre de Dios and Panama (the latter referring sometimes to the city, sometimes to the whole isthmus), we found it impossible to extract meaningful figures for the city of Panama itself.

Nombre de Dios, however, was firmly controlled by the four Spanish provinces mentioned above (Badajoz 54, Seville 39, Cáceres 27 and Huelva 22, for a total of 142 out of 178). Since Extremeños actually outnumbered the Andalusians in Nombre de Dios, we are forced to conclude that the other city, Panama, must have been made up overwhelmingly of Andalusians in order to account for the relative contributions of the two regions to the Isthmus as a whole.

Tierra Firme was also at this time unique in being virtually free of foreigners. Whereas the preceding period (1520-1539) had yielded no less than 25 foreigners in the isthmus (18 of them German and Flemish) and, be it added, 57 foreigners in Cartagena and Santa Marta, and yet another 43 in Venezuela, the period 1540-59 finds only one new identified foreigner in Tierra Firme, in Venezuela 11, and in Cartagena and Santa Marta, none.

Santo Domingo

Unable to compete with the lure of greater riches on the vast mainland, the islands of the Antilles continued to lose favor among the emigrants of this period as possible destinations. This is very apparent in the sharp decline both in the number of emigrants to the Antilles and in the percentages they represent:

	1520-1539 (out of 12,473 recorded destinations)	1540-1559 (out of 8,786 recorded destinations)
Santo Domingo	1,372 (11.0%)	389 (4.4%)
Cuba	195 (1.6%)	32 (0.3%)
Puerto Rico	108 (0.9%)	51 (0.5%)

The preponderance of Andalusians in Santo Domingo noted in the Antillean period (498 Andalusians out of 1,145, or 43.5%) and in the following two decades (626 out of a further 1,372 or 45.6%), is even more marked in the period 1540-59, though the total number of immigrants has dropped sharply.

Of the 389 noted above, no less than 185, or 47.5%, were Andalusians, 124 of them from Seville alone! Composing the rest were 67 Extremeños (17.2%), 47 New Castilians (12.1%), 39 Old Castilians (10.5%), 24 Leonese (6.1%), 4 Canary Islanders (1.0%), 3 Galicians and 3 Navarrese (0.8% each), 2 Basques (0.5%), 1 Asturian, 1 Catalan and 1 Murcian (0.3% each), and 12 foreigners (3.1%), half of them Portuguese. As in the case of the Isthmus the four southwestern provinces of Seville (124), Badajoz (38), Cáceres (28) and Huelva (26) led the field.

Nicaragua

Very few emigrants of the period gave Nicaragua as their destination at the time of departure. In an earlier study we reported having identified only 137 settlers for the period 1520-39, among them 37 from Segovia, the home province of Governor Rodrigo de Contreras. Based on a rather small total, the statistical picture was quite unusual (37.4% Old Castilians, 20.4% New Castilians, 19.0% Andalusians, 8% Basques, 6.6% Extremeños, 2.2% Leonese, all others combined 6.4%). For the third period we have found for Nicaragua another 181 settlers of identified origin, 123 of them so very recently that we were unable to include them in our over-all statistics for the Indies as a whole.[18]

The new figures show 38 Andalusians (21.0%), 34 Extremeños (18.8%), 22 Old Castilians (12.2%), 19 New Castilians (10.5%), 11 Leonese (6.1%), 6 Basques (3.3%), 3 Valencians (1.7%), 2 Catalans and 2 Asturians (1.1% each), and one each (0.5%) from Murcia, Galicia, Navarre and the Canaries. The remaining 37 (20.4%) were foreigners, who could generally be counted on to come to light wherever the authority of the Spanish Crown was being defied or circumvented, particularly where piracy was involved, as it was in the Nicaragua rebellion of 1550. A large number of the rebels appear to have been sailors, among whom the proportion of foreigners was usually quite high to begin with. The 37 foreigners were composed of 18 Portuguese, 9 Genoese and one other Italian, 4 Greeks, 2 Frenchmen, 2 Flemings and one Irishman. Among Spanish provinces the largest contributors were Badajoz 27, Sevilla 17, Huelva and Salamanca 10 each, and Toledo 9.

Other destinations

For other destinations, such as Cuba, Puerto Rico, Venezuela, Guatemala, Honduras, our data for this period are too scant to warrant analysis. All we can safely say is that direct emigration to these places had slowed down to a trickle.

Summary

To sum up our study of the distribution of emigrants among the major colonies in America, we present the following comparative tables for the period 1540-1559:

3,269 Andalusians contributed:

48.2%	of all new settlers of	Panama
47.5%		Santo Domingo
47.4%		Mexico
36.1%		the Indies
34.6%		New Granada
34.0%		Peru
31.7%		Río de la Plata
25.9%		Chile

Note the high proportion of Andalusians in the Caribbean and the much smaller proportions in the Southern Hemisphere.

1,416 Extremeños contributed:

26.9%	of all new settlers of	Panama
20.6%		New Granada
18.1%		Chile
17.2%		Santo Domingo
15.7%		the Indies
15.5%		Peru
12.7%		Mexico
12.0%		Río de la Plata

1,390 Old Castilians contributed:

24.2%	of all new settlers of	Chile
17.2%		Peru
15.4%		the Indies
12.7%		Mexico
12.1%		New Granada
11.3%		Río de laPlata
10.0%		Santo Domingo
7.3%		Panama

Better represented in the Southern Hemisphere than in the Northern.
Roughly speaking, the above pattern is the inverse of that of the Andalusians.

1,303 New Castilians contributed:

14.8%	of all new settlers of	New Granada
14.7%		Mexico
14.4%		the Indies
14.0%		Chile
13.8%		Río de la Plata
13.5		Peru
12.1%		Santo Domingo
6.9%		Panama

Fairly evenly represented everywhere except in Panama.

559 Leonese contributed:

5.7% of all new settlers of . . . . . .Peru
6.4% . . . . . Mexico
6.2% . . . . . .the Indies
6.1% . . . . . .Santo Domingo
5.4% . . . . . Nuevo Reino
4.3% . . . . . Chile
4.3% . . . . . Río de la Plata
3.2% . . . . . Panama

396 Basques contributed:

7.3% of all new settlers of the . . . . Río de la Plata
5.7% . . . . . .Peru
5.4% . . . . . Chile
4.4% . . . . . .the Indies
4.1% . . . . . New Granada
3.4% . . . . . Panama
2.9% . . . . . Mexico
0.5% . . . . . .Santo Domingo

Also better represented in the Southern Hemisphere. Very few in the Antilles.

332 Foreigners contributed:

13.2% of all new settlers of the . . . . Río de la Plata
4.5% . . . . . Chile
3.7% . . . . . the Indies
3.5% . . . . . .Peru
3.1% . . . . . .Santo Domingo
1.1% . . . . . Mexico
1.0% . . . . . New Granada
0.2% . . . . . Panama

Note the high proportion of foreigners in the Southern Hemisphere, and their virtual absence from Panama.

73 Galicians contributed:

1.8% of all new settlers of the . . . . Río de la Plata
1.7% . . . . . Chile
1.1% . . . . . New Granada
0.8% . . . . . Santo Domingo
0.6% . . . . . .the Indies
0.6% . . . . . .Peru
0.4% . . . . . Mexico
0.2% . . . . . Panama

The Galicians, though better represented in the Río de la Plata and Chile than elsewhere, are statistically quite insignificant even there, as indeed they appear to be throughout the XVIth century.

From the above tables we note that in this period:

1) Panama featured the highest percentage of new Andalusians and Extremeños, and the lowest of Castilians (both Old and New), Leonese, foreigners and Galicians.

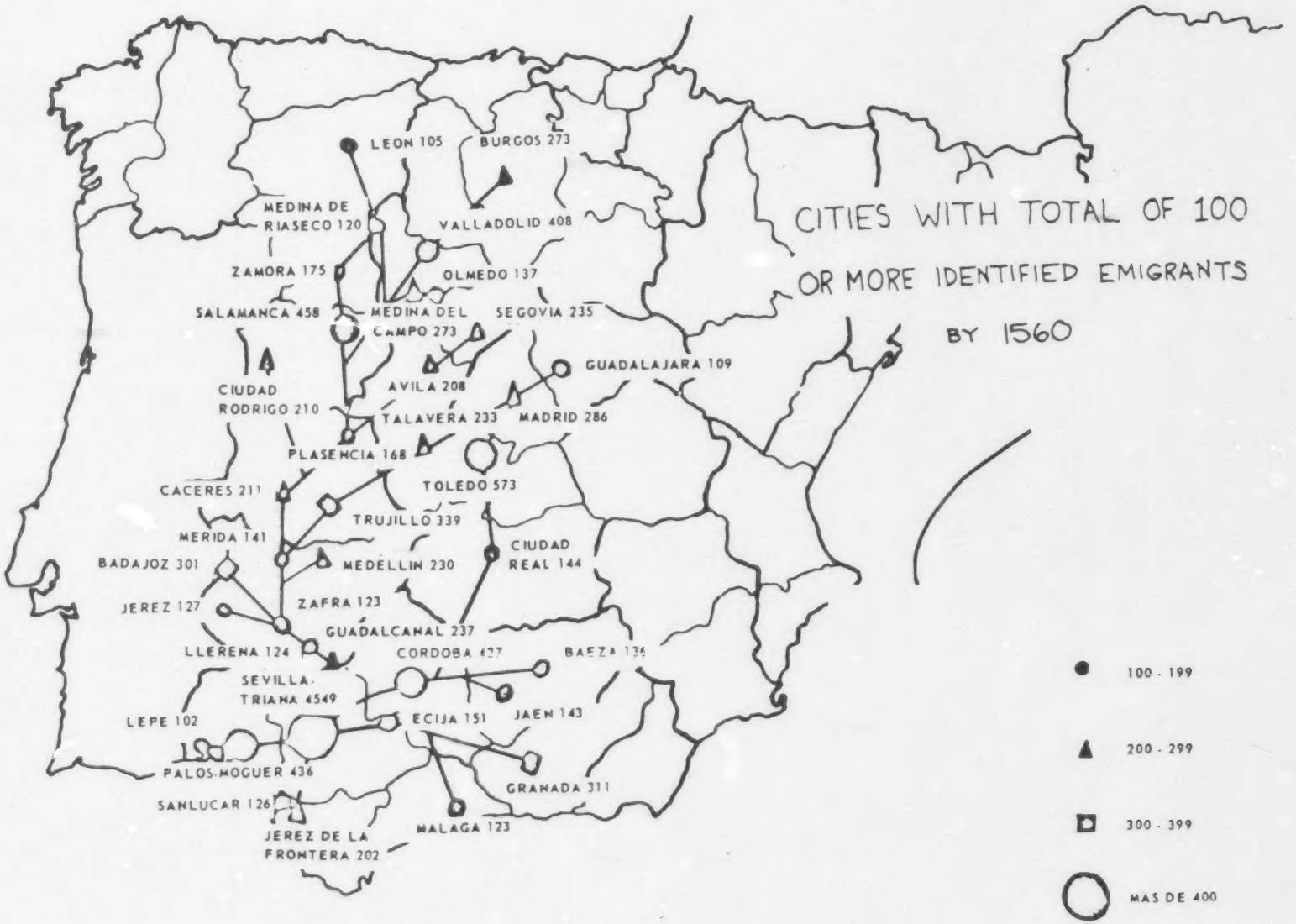
2) The Río de la Plata had the highest percentage of new Basques, foreigners and Galicians, and the lowest of Extremeños.

3) Chile attracted the highest percentage of new Old Castilians, and the lowest of Andalusians.

Except for the Galicians, whose contribution is too small to be represented, we have rearranged the above tables in the form of a graph, entitled "Settlement in the New World 1540-1559."

Cumulative Data: 1493-1559

To summarize our statistical data on emigration to the Indies in all three periods studied so far (I: 1493-1519; II: 1520-1539; III: 1540-1559) we offer (i) a cumulative table of the regional contributions between 1493 and 1560, (ii) a cumulative ranking of the major contributing provinces (together with the hitherto unpublished maps for 1520-39 and 1540-59), and (iii) a cumulative ranking of cities with totals of 100 or more identified emigrants by 1560. Accompanying this last is a map on which the cities are situated in relation to each other. It is significant that most of them lie astride major routes taken by the flow of emigrants heading for Seville. These highways we have attempted to indicate in a general way on our map in the form of straight lines.


CITIES WITH TOTAL OF 100
OR MORE IDENTIFIED EMIGRANTS
BY 1560
LEON 105
BURGOS 273
MEDINA DE RIASECO 120
VALLADOLID 408
ZAMORA 175
OLMEDO 137
SALAMANCA 458
MEDINA DEL CAMPO 273
SEGOVIA 235
GUADALAJARA 109
CIUDAD RODRIGO 210
AVILA 208
TALAVERA 233
MADRID 286
PLASENCIA 168
TOLEDO 573
CACERES 211
TRUJILLO 339
MERIDA 141
CIUDAD REAL 144
BADAJOZ 301
MEDELLIN 230
JEREZ 127
ZAFRA 123
GUADALCANAL 237
LLERENA 124
CORDOBA 427
BAEZA 136
SEVILLA-TRIANA 4549
LEPE 102
ECIJA 151
JAEN 143
PALOS-MOGUER 436
GRANADA 311
SANLUCAR 126
MALAGA 123
JEREZ DE LA FRONTERA 202
100 - 199
200 - 299
300 - 399
MAS DE 400

CUMULATIVE TOTALS BY REGIONS (1493-1560)

	1493-1519 I	1520-1539 II	1540-1559 III	Total	Cumulative percentage
1. Andalusia	2172 (39.7%)	4247 (32.0%)	3269 (36.1%)	9688	34.9%
2. Old Castile	987 (18.0%)	2337 (17.6%)	1390 (15.4%)	4714	17.0%
3. Extremadura	769 (14.1%)	2204 (16.6%)	1416 (15.7%)	4389	15.8%
4. New Castile	483 (8.8%)	1587 (12.0%)	1303 (14.4%)	3373	12.1%
5. León	406 (7.5%)	1004 (7.6%)	559 (6.2%)	1969	7.1%
6. Basque Provinces	257 (4.4%)	600 (4.5%)	396 (4.4%)	1253	4.5%
7. Foreigners	141 (2.6%)	557 (4.2%)	332 (3.7%)	1030	3.7%
8. Galicia	111 (2.0%)	193 (1.4%)	73 (0.8%)	377	1.4%
9. Val, Cat. and Bal.	40 (0.7%)	131 (1.0%)	62 (0.7%)	233	0.8%
10. Murcia	29 (0.5%)	122 (0.9%)	50 (0.5%)	201	0.7%
11. Aragon	32 (0.6%)	101 (0.8%)	40 (0.4%)	173	0.6%
12. Asturias	36 (0.7%)	77 (0.6%)	49 (0.5%)	162	0.6%
13. Navarra	10 (0.2%)	71 (0.5%)	81 (0.6%)	162	0.6%
14. Canarias	8 (0.1%)	31 (0.2%)	24 (0.3%)	63	0.2%
	5481	13,262	9044	27,787	100.0%

Conclusions

By the middle of the XVIth Century a distinctly new pattern of emigration had begun to form, one which was to become more and more pronounced as the century progressed. Whereas the flow of emigration from most parts of Spain tended to be irregular, occurring mainly in connection with the passage of some high-ranking governmental or ecclesiastical functionary and his entourage, emigration from Andalusia, particularly from the city of Seville itself, went on year in and year out without interruption. For the sevillano, living as he did at the very nerve center of Spain's commerce with her American colonies, travel to and from the Indies must have seemed a rather routine undertaking.

Overseas, meanwhile, the picture was emerging of a vast maritime empire the ports of which were linked by sea to Seville (and to each other) along trade routes controlled and maintained predominantly by Andalusian sailors and merchants. It is our opinion that this fact will in the end prove to be an important clue to the enigma that has long puzzled linguists, namely the phonetic division of American Spanish into two broad varieties, coastal versus highland, and the resemblance of the former, particularly in the Caribbean, to the phonetic features of andaluz.

FOOTNOTES

1. Peter Boyd-Bowman, "Regional Origins of the Earliest Spanish Colonists of America," PMLA, Dec. 1956, pp. 1157-1172.

2. Peter Boyd-Bowman, "La emigración peninsular a América: 1520-1539," Historia Mexicana, XIII, octubre-diciembre, 1963, pp. 165-192.

3. Peter Boyd-Bowman, Índice geobiografico de 40,000 pobladores espanoles de America en el siglo XVI, Vol. I.La época antillana: 1493-1519. Instituto Caro y Cuervo, Bogotá, 1964. (In 1956 and 1957 the Guggenheim Foundation supported two periods of research in the Archivo de Indias, in Seville, which yielded copious materials for this study.)

   The publication of Vol. II of the Índice . . . with biographical and statistical data on 13,262 individuals who emigrated between 1520 and 1539, is nearing completion in Mexico. Published by the Academia Mexicana de Genealogía with the aid of a generous subsidy from UB's Faculty Committee on Publications, this volume will be available no later than July 1968.

4. Volumes IV and V, still on cards, will bring the total of identified origins to well over 50,000 for the XVIth Century alone. In addition to indices of surnames, occupations, marital and social status, and place-names in America (the arrangement of data by town and province makes an index of place-names in Europe unnecessary), each volume includes maps, graphs, and statistical studies of annual emigration from each region and province in Spain, of urban vs. rural emigration, of the percentages among the emigrants of hidalgos, captains, merchants, miners, sailors, servants, women, and clergy, of the fluctuating popularity of certain New World destinations, and of the regional composition of the early settlers of each region of the New World, even of Mexico City, Puebla, Lima, Cuzco and Asunción.

5. Sevilla, Badajoz, Toledo, Caceres, Salamanca, and Valladolid.

6. For the years 1542 to 1552 the principal sources of data, the extant passenger registries in the Archivo de Indias, are now fragmentary, and we had to rely mostly on information from colonial sources. Therefore our total figures of 13,262 for the second period versus 9,044 for the third period tell us nothing about the relative number of colonists who emigrated in the two periods, but simply reflect the greater abundance, for the second period, of available sources.

7. Here is the breakdown: Portuguese 151 (seven of them from the Azores), Italians (including Genoese, Corsicans, Sardinians, Sicilians and Maltese) 91, Flemish and Dutch 37, Greeks 21, Germans 13, French 12, English 2, and 5 from other countries. Total: 332.

8. With the inclusion of 40 from Triana, the sailors' quarter located directly across the river, Seville's total rises to 1790.

9. For earlier discussions of the same subject, see Boyd-Bowman, Índice geobiográfico . . . Vol. I, xxii-xxiv, and "La emigración peninsular a América: 1520-1539," Hist. Mex., XIII, 171-172.

10. Only merchants were exempted from this regulation and even they had to post bond that they would return within a reasonable time, usually set at two or three years.

11. "... la ciudad de Panamá ... tendrá quatrocientas casas ... en que habrá quinientos vezinos, y de hordinario asisten ochocientos hombres poco más o menos. Es la gente muy política, todos españoles y gran parte dellos originarios de la ciudad de Sevilla. Es gente de mucho entendimiento; su oficio es tratar y contratar, ecepto quince o veynte vezinos que tratan los campos y viven de los ganados y hacienda que en ellos tienen. Es por la mayor parte gente rica ...

    En este pueblo está la gente con poco asiento y como de camino para passar al Perú o venir a España. Es mucho el comercio y trato desta ciudad, ansí de las cosas de España como del Perú por estar en medio de las dos mares del Norte y del Sur, y muy acomodada para las contratataciones." M. M. de Peralta, Costa Rica, Nicaragua y Panama en el siglo XVI, pp. 527-539.

12. In the Antillean period it was 4.2 percent versus 4.4 percent.

13. For statistical purposes we counted only those explicitly described as "criados" and not, for example, their accompanying wives, children, or cousins, even though these may by implication also be ranked in the servant class.

14. For purposes of comparison with regional emigration to Peru as a whole, we offer a breakdown by region of origin of 406 identified 'pizarristas': Andalusia 26.6 percent (vs. 34.0 percent overall), Old Castile 13.3 percent (vs. 17.2 percent overall), Extremadura 19.4 percent (vs. 15.5 percent overall), New Castile 10.5 percent (vs. 13.5 percent), León 8.6 percent (vs. 6.7 percent), the Basques 4.2 percent (vs. 5.7 percent), Valencia 1.0 percent (vs. 0.7 percent), Navarra 1.0 percent (vs. 0.7 percent), Galicia 0.7 percent (vs. 0.6 percent), Aragon 0.5 percent (vs. 0.6 percent), Asturias 0.3 percent (vs. 0.5 percent), Murcia 0.3 percent (vs. 0.4 percent), Cataluña 0.7 percent (vs. 0.2 percent), foreigners 12.3 percent (vs. 3.5 percent). Proportionately, the two most disloyal groups were first the foreigners and secondly Pizarro's fellow Extremeños.

    Among those who emigrated in the preceding period (1520-39), we counted an additional 89 rebellious pizarristas. Following our practice of not basing percentages on totals of less than 100, we limit ourselves to giving the regional totals: There were 20 Extremeños (14 of them from Pizarro's home province of Cáceres), 19 Old Castilians, 18 Andalusians (12 of these from Seville), 13 New Castilians (9 of them from Toledo), 10 Leonese, 2 Galicians, 1 Asturian, 1 Basque, 1 Canary Islander, 1 Murcian, 1 German, 1 Genoese and 1 Greek. Total: 89.

15. The proportion of Andalusians among the second period emigrants to Mexico was 35.0 percent, that among first period emigrants 30.0 percent. A steady rise is discernible, therefore.

16. This picture is strikingly different from that presented by the 914 settlers of Mexico City who had emigrated prior to 1540. Among the latter, for example, Andalusians represented only 32.7 percent, Old Castilians 18.5 percent, Extremeños 12.6 percent, New Castilians 11.2 percent, Leonese 9.9 percent, Basques 4.9 percent and foreigners 5.5 percent.

17. That this was a new trend can be seen by comparing the above figures with our earlier ones for the period 1493-1539. Then a total of 958 identified settlers yielded only 33% Andalusians, 22% Extremeños, 14.8% Old Castilians, 11.3% New Castilians, 6% Basques, 5.1% Leonese, 1.5% Galicians, all other combined 7.6%.

18. Our source is Vol. XVII of the Documentos inéditos para la historia de Nicaragua (Colección Somoza, Madrid 1957), which presents testimony relating to the short-lived rebellion (1550) of Hernando and Pedro de Contreras, the governor's two sons. See especially pp. 181-184.

SPANISH EMIGRATION TO THE NEW WORLD: 1560-1579

In probing the origins of the present-day American Spanish dialects, much basic research has been necessary in the area of pure demography.

Who were the ones who brought the Spanish language to the New World? From what dialect regions of the Peninsula did they come? What was their social and occupational composition? How many of them were women? Where did they settle in the Americas? How did they interact linguistically with each other and with the native Indian populations?

In a continuing effort to shed fresh light on these broad questions, two major projects are being conducted at the State University of New York at Buffalo by the author and a small group of his research assistants. One, the more recent one, is entitled LASCODOCS (Linguistic Analysis of Spanish Colonial Documents) and is a computer-assisted analysis of linguistic data contained in a broad sampling of non-literary dated colonial documents that represent every region of the New World. Based upon this goldmine of basic data, the gathering of which was initiated at Buffalo in 1967 with generous financial assistance, local, state and national, a number of important studies are now developing, including some doctoral dissertations. A large lexical and syntactical reference work, the Léxico hispanoamericano del siglo XVI, already in the hands of the publisher (Tamesis Books Ltd.) will provide the reader with a rich, carefully arranged sampling of the recorded speech, often coarse and earthy, of the conquistadores and settlers of America.

The other project, begun many years ago (in 1950), is a giant demographic study of the varied patterns of emigration to the New World, chronological and geographical, that were major contributors to early dialect differentiation.

Research from our earlier studies has already demonstrated rather conclusively the demographically and perhaps linguistically decisive role played by Extremadura and Andalusia, particularly Seville, in the settlement of several of the New World colonies. While our biographical data files are still far from complete (only 27,787 individual settlers of known birthplace out of the much larger number who had left Spain by 1560), the sample was certainly large enough to ensure a very high degree of reliability.

Since our conclusions so far, both sociological and linguistic, are fully stated in two books as well as several articles (1956, 1957, 1963,

1964, 1967, 1968),[1] we will limit ourselves to presenting here for the first time the results of our tallies for the years 1560-79. These, together with the accompanying tables and maps, should be of value to linguists and historians alike.

Information on the flow of emigration is more abundant for the period 1560-79 than for any two previous decades.[1a] For each of the earlier periods the passenger registries extant in the Archive of the Indies contained serious lacunae[2] which made it necessary to rely for certain years primarily upon colonial sources (wills, genealogies, chronicles, probanzas, interrogatorios, and so on). By contrast the passenger lists for 1560-79 are reasonably well preserved, which accounts for the apparent increase in the tide of emigration. Once again it must be emphasized that our statistics do not purport to compare the volume of emigration in one time period with that of any other, but are instead designed to reveal patterns of emigration, in any given year, from different places in Spain to different regions in America.

General Observations.

The most striking facts about Spanish emigration to America between 1560 and 1579 are that roughly three out of every four emigrants hailed from the southern half of the Peninsula and that 28.5% of all emigrants were women. What is more, over half of all the emigrants came from just four adjacent provinces: Seville, Badajoz, Toledo and Cáceres! The period is also characterized by an increasing variety of destinations and by a large number of returnees (who as such are not included in our statistics). As in the preceding period (1540-59), ever fewer persons sailed for the New World as lone adventurers, while more and more went out as professional men, government or ecclesiastical functionaries (or as part of the latters' elaborate retinues), as skilled craftsmen, or as members or servants of large households. As for destinations, though the number of possibilities had by this time risen considerably, by far the favorite goal was New Spain, which attracted two out of every five new emigrants, thereby easily recapturing the first place it had yielded to Peru in the period immediately preceding.

Ranking of regions 1560-1579.

As in all previous periods, Andalusia leads the field. Of a total of 17,587 regionally identified emigrants between the years 1560-79, Andalusia contributed 6547 (37.2%), a proportion almost as high as in the original Antillean period. New Castile came next with 343 (19.0%), for the first time

LA EMIGRACIÓN A AMÉRICA (1560-79):
ANALISIS POR PROVINCIAS
DE 17,580 COLONIZADORES
DE PROCEDENCIA CIERTA O CASI CIERTA
ASTURIAS 90
SANTANDER 143
VIZCAYA 182
GUIPÚZCOA 184
ÁLAVA 125
NAVARRA 112
LOGROÑO 144
BURGOS 382
PONTEVEDRA 41
LEÓN 140
ORENSE 42
PALENCIA 249
ZAMORA 171
VALLADOLID 472
SORIA 81
ZARAGOZA 96
SEGOVIA 244
SALAMANCA 561
GUADALAJARA 141
AVILA 227
MADRID 417
CUENCA 156
CÁCERES 914
TOLEDO 1570
VALENCIA 43
CIUDAD REAL 509
ALBACETE 40
BADAJOZ 229
CÓRDOBA 443
JAÉN 275
MURCIA 40
HUELVA 549
SEVILLA 1332
GRANADA 331
MÁLAGA 225
CÁDIZ 556
CANARIAS 11
MÁS DE 1.000
ENTRE 1.000 Y 3.000
ENTRE 500 Y 1.000
ENTRE 200 Y 500
ENTRE 100 Y 200
ENTRE 40 Y 100

overtaking Extremadura, which sent 3,295 (18.7%). Old Castile ranked a poor fourth with 1,984 (11.3%), while León and the Basque provinces, though still in fifth and sixth place respectively, lost ground: León 875 (5.0%), Vascongadas 515 (2.9%).

Emigration from all other regions combined (including other countries of Europe) did not even reach 6%. Foreigners, though still in seventh place, dropped from 3.7% in the preceding period to an all-time low of 1.5% (263).* Galicia placed eighth with only 179 (1.0%). Catalonia, Valencia, and the Balearic Islands together placed ninth with 113 (0.6%). Navarre contributed 112 (0.6%), Aragon 99 (0.6%), Murcia 96 (0.5%), Asturias 90 (0.5%) and the Canary Islands 75 (0.4%).

Ranking by provinces.

Almost one quarter of all the new emigrants to America between 1560 and 1579 came from the single province of Seville. With a total of 4,112 (23.4%) the contribution of this leading province is proportionately about the same as for the period 1540-59 (22.5%). Badajoz, with 2297 (13.1%), is firmly in second place. These two provinces, together with Toledo 1695 (9.6%) and Cáceres 968 (5.5%), form a compact area that alone accounts for over half of all new European settlers for the period. Other Spanish provinces rank as follows: (5) Madrid 617, (6) Salamanca 561, (7) Cádiz 558, (8) Huelva 542, (9) Ciudad Real 509, (10) Valladolid 467, (11) Córdoba 448, (12) Burgos 384, (13) Guadalajara 343, (14) Granada 331, (15) Jaén 276, (16) Segovia 252, (17) Palencia 249, (18) Ávila 227, (19) Málaga 226, (20) Guipúzcoa 183, (21) Vizcaya 182, (22) Zamora 171, (23) Cuenca 156, (24) Logroño 144, (25) Santander 143 , (26) León 142, (27) Álava 125, (28) Navarra 112, (29) Asturias 90, (30) Soria 81, (31) Canarias 75, (32) Zaragoza 60, (33) Albacete 50, (34) Murcia 46, (35) Valencia 43, (36) Orense 42, (37) Pontevedra 41, (38) Lugo 39, (39) Barcelona 33, (40) Coruña 26. The remaining provinces each contributed under 20.

Emigration from the cities 1560-1579.

Once again the city of Seville, seat of the Casa de Contratación and the port city that dominated all commerce with the New World, maintains

*This trend, which may be symptomatic of Spain's incipient xenophobia and self-imposed cultural isolation from the rest of Europe, was to be temporarily arrested in the following decades due to the annexation of Portugal (1580-1640), which for a short time opened the Spanish colonies to a significant influx of Portuguese.

its overwhelming ascendancy. With 3,831 emigrants (including the sailor's quarter of Triana located on the opposite bank of the Guadalquivir), the city had the distinction of furnishing over one out of every five new emigrants to America as well as a third of all the women (1,708 or 34%). It sent considerably more new colonists than the next eleven top-ranking cities combined, which were: (2) Toledo 537, (3) Trujillo (Caceres) 344, (4) Madrid 333, (5) Salamanca 304, (6) Granada 296, (7) Jerez de la frontera (Cadiz) 246, (8) Córdoba 237, (9) Zafra (Badajoz) 231, (10) Talavera (Toledo) 204, (11) Medellín (Badajoz) 160, and (12) Segovia 143. These twelve cities alone accounted for over a third of all new emigrants.

Next came (13) Llerena (Badajoz) 131, (14) Ciudad Real 129 , (15) Medina del Campo (Valladolid) 128, (16) Cáceres and Palos-Moguer 127 each, (18) Fregenal (Badajoz) 125, (19) Guadalcanal (Sevilla) 115, (20) Mérida (Badajoz) 106, (21) Almodóvar del Campo (Ciudad Read), Ecija (Sevilla) and Burgos 102 each, (24) Valladolid 98, (25) Ciudad Rodrigo (Salamanca) and Torrijos (Toledo) 97 each, (27) Badajoz 95, (28) Carmona (Sevilla) 93, (29) Utrera (Sevilla) and Guadalajara 91 each, (31) Plasencia (Caceres) and Birhuega (Guadalajara) 90 each, (33) Santa Olalla (Toledo) 89, (34) Avila 88, (35) Sanlúcar de Barrameda (Cádiz) 87, (36) Cazalla de la Sierra (Sevilla) 84, (37) Azuaga (Badajoz) and Málaga 83, (39) Segura de León (Badajoz) 79.

The 39 cities and towns just listed accounted for 8,828 or over 50 percent of all emigrants to the New World in this period. Next follow in descending order Alcalá de Henares (Madrid) 78, Oropesa (Toledo) 77, Osuna (Sevilla) and Zamora 75 each, Baeza (Jaen) 73, Antequera (Málaga) 71, Puebla de Sancho Pérez and Villanueva de la Serena (both in Badajoz) 69 each, Medina Sidonia (Cádiz) 65, Marchena (Sevilla) 62, Huelva 61, Jerez de los Caballeros and Palomas (both in Badajoz) and Jaén,all three with 59, Garrovillas (Cáceres) 58, Montijo (Badajoz) and Almagro (Ciudad Real) with 55 each, Zalamea de la Serena (Badajoz) 52, Fuente del Maestre (Badajoz) and Puerto de Santa María (Cádiz) 50, Ayamonte (Huelva) 49, Ronda (Málaga) 47, los Santos de Maimona (Badajoz) and Bilbao (Vizcaya) both with 46, Almendralejo (Badajoz) and Toro (Zamora) both with 45, Alanje (Badajoz), Ocaña (Toledo) and Valverde (Badajoz) with 43 each, Carrión de los Condes, Palencia and Vitoria (Alava) with 42 each, Leon and Trigueros (Huelva), both with 41, Puebla de la Calzada (Badajoz) 38, Fuente de Cantos (Badajoz), Logroño and Sanlúcar la Mayor (Sevilla) with 37 each, Ribera (Badajoz) and Valencia each with 36, Berlanga (Badajoz) 35, Fuensalida (Toledo) 34, Burguillos

(Badajoz), Jaraicejo (Cáceres) and Calera and Escalona (Toledo) with 33 each, Montilla (Córdoba) and Úbeda (Jaén) with 32 each, Alburquerque (Badajoz) and Cádiz with 31 each and Constantina (Sevilla) and Illescas (Toledo) each with 30.

Of the 90 cities and towns mentioned so far, no less than 25 are located in the single province of Badajoz. Forty-four other towns sent 20-29 colonists apiece and another 113 each sent from 10-19.

The City of Seville.

The dominant role played by the city of Seville in colonial affairs throughout the century continued to manifest itself in the astounding fact that between 1560 and 1579 over one emigrant in every five (21.7%) emigrated from the city of Seville itself! Moreover, of this human tide of 3,831 Sevillanos, over half of them female, all but a tiny fraction can safely be regarded as native to the city. The statistics made this abundantly clear:

Native-born (Certain or near certain)

A.	natural y vecino	59
	natural	2,551
	hijo - (a) de vecinos	60
	hijo - (a) de natural(es)	791
	hijo - (a) de natural y vecino	23
	hermano - (a) de natural(es)	33
	esposa de natural y vecino	2
	Subtotal:	3,519

Possibly Native-born

B.	vecino - (a)	111
	esposa de natural	99
	esposa de vecino	5
	pariente o madre de vecino(s)	3
	pariente de naturales	26
	nieto de natural(es)	9
	casos inciertos	59
	Subtotal:	312
	TOTAL:	3,831

Seville's favored geographical position and its virtual monopoly of trade with the New World continued to give it an unbeatable advantage throughout the century.

Merchants.

In the period 1560-79 almost one out of every sixteen male emigrants was either a merchant or a factor (agent). Merchants, though exempted from the regulation forbidding married men to sail without their wives, had to

post bond, if crossing alone, to ensure that they would return within a specified length of time, sometimes with the same fleet. Many of them crossed repeatedly on these terms. It is highly significant that of 665 new merchants and 100 factores of known origin, over 60% were Andalusians and most of these from Seville, while the most frequently named destination was the Isthmus of Panama. Indeed of the 665 who identified themselves as merchants, 348, or well over half, gave as their New World destination either Tierra Firme alone (132) or Tierra Firme and Peru (216). Mexico attracted less than half this number (147), while Peru alone was the destination of only 77. Other merchants went to New Granada* (22), Santo Domingo (16), Honduras (16), Cartagena* (11), Cabo de Vela* (6), Cuba (6), only 2 each to Puerto Rico and Chile, and one each to Venezuela, Isla Margarita, Jamaica, Santa Marta*, and Nicaragua. One merchant sailed merely 'to the Indies.'

Though 32 Spanish provinces sent merchants to the New World in this period, Seville alone accounted for 362, or eight times as many as any other province! Far behind came Badajoz with 45, Burgos with 34, Huelva with 31, Toledo with 28, Cádiz with 25, and Guipúzcoa with 20. A clear majority of all new merchants were Andalusians: 403, or 60.5%. Eighty-eight others came from Old Castile, 63 from Extremadura, 53 from New Castile, no less than 40 were Basques, while León contributed 16, Galicia 8, Valencia 5, Murcia and Cataluña 3 each, Navarra and Asturias 2 each, and Aragon and Canaries one apiece. There were 17 foreigners.

In addition we found a few individuals, descendants of Genoese merchants prominent in New World trade since the early days of the Conquest, who sailed to America without explicitly calling themselves merchants but who were probably such. For example, Lucián de Espíndola, a native of Granada, sailed for Mexico in 1561; in 1567 one Lucián Espíndola de León, a citizen of Seville, accompanied the new governor to Soconusco in Guatemala; Agustín Espíndola, married, aged 26, and a native of the Canary Islands, headed for Mexico in the same year, while Luis Espíndola, a native of Genoa, also sailed for Mexico in 1567, but posted bond saying that he would return in the same fleet (usually an indication of merchant status).

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*If we include Cartagena, Cabo de Vela and Santa Marta with New Granada, we get a total of 40.

Representing another family of distinguished Genoese merchants was Juan Bautista Pinelo, born in Genoa, married, who pledged himself to return from Mexico within three years.

Ships' captains, pilots and sailors (1560-79)

Only 144 of our 17,567 new emigrants listed these categories as occupations. This unusually low figure reflects the fact that sailors did not appear as such in the passenger registries, and that it was no longer common for sailors to take part in land expeditions, once they arrived in the New World. The transatlantic convoy system devised by the Spaniards as a protection against pirates, being as it was under military rather than civilian control, undoubtedly inhibited such freedom of action on the part of sailors not already domiciled in America.

Of these 144 new sailors the largest contingent was, as we might expect, the Andalusians, with 55, or 38.2%. But what is surprising is the very high proportion (30.6%) of foreigners, particularly Portuguese. The 44 foreign sailors were made up as follows: 24 Portuguese from the mainland and 8 more from the Azores, plus 3 Dutchmen and 2 Flemings, 2 Frenchmen, 2 Genoese, 1 Sicilian, 1 Corsican and 1 Greek.

By regions we have 55 Andalusians (38.2%), 44 foreigners (30.6%), 12 Basques (8.3%), and 7 Galicians (4.8%). Old Castile, New Castile and Asturias each contributed 5 (3.5%), the Canaries 4 (2.8%), all others 7

Hidalgos.

In the period 1540-59 we arrived at a figure of roughly 4.2% for just those male emigrants whom the passenger registries or other sources consulted clearly designated as hidalgos. The exact total was 319 out of 7,564. Applying the same criteria for the period 1560-79 yielded 516 hidalgos, which out of our total of 12,567 male emigrants produces for us a startlingly similar result: 4.1%! Indeed the constancy of these two percentages in two successive and rather large samples of the emigrant population (totalling over 20,000 males) leads us to suggest that for hidalgos, a ratio of 1:24 is probably a reliable one to use in any overall demographic comparison with the social composition of those who remained in Spain.

However, if we reexamine the statistics by regions, a very different picture emerges. Andalusia, with 161 hidalgos among 3767 males, is exactly average with 4.2%. But New Castile with 68 hidalgos among 3343 males, has only 2.7%, while Extremadura's percentage of hidalgos (66 out of 2627) is

a mere 2.1% The north of Spain, by contrast, sent a noticeably higher proportion of hidalgos. Old Castile (95 out of 1600 males) 6.0%, Leon (48 out of 703) 6.8%, and the Basque Provinces (42 out of 463) a record 9.0%. The conclusion is inescapable that between 1560 and 1579 the pattern of emigration to the New World was definitely more aristocratic from the North than from the South.

Emigration of women 1560-1579

The proportion of female emigrants shows a steady rise as the century progresses. Whereas in the Antillean period (1493-1519) women accounted for only 5.6% of all emigrants and in the period 1520-39 the percentage was still only 6.3%, the proportion more than doubled to 16.4% in the years 1540-59 as royal edicts made it harder if not impossible for a married man to emigrate without his wife, or to remain in the New World without sending for her. But economic distress at home and the increasing security and comfort of urban life in the colonies attracted an even greater proportion of women in the period 1560-79. Of our 17,580 identified emigrants, fully 5,013 or (28.5%) were women or girls. Of these female emigrants (at least one for every three males), 1,989 (roughly 40%) were either married (1,904) or widowed (85), the remaining 3,024 (60%) being single. By regions the breakdown is as follows: Andalusia 2,780 (55.4%), New Castile 872 (17.4%), Extremadura 668 (13.3%), Old Castile 384 (7.5%), Leon 172 (3.4%), the Basque Provinces only 45 (0.9%), the Canaries 13 (0.3%), Galicia, Navarre, Murcia and Catalonia 10 each (0.2%), Valencia 9, Asturias 8, Aragon 8, and foreigners (chiefly Portuguese) 14 (0.3%).

If we compare female emigration with total emigration from the same region, we find that women and girls accounted in this period for less than 6% of the Galicians, roughly 9% of the Basques, 20% of both Old Castilians and Leonese, 20.3% of the Extremeños, 26% of the New Castilians, 42.4% of the Andalusians, exactly 50% of those from the province of Seville, while from the city of Seville itself, the women actually outnumbered the men!

Individual provinces each contributing more than 100 women or girls were:

1. Seville 2,051 2. Toledo 516 3. Cáceres 256 4. Huelva 187
5. Madrid 176 6. Cádiz 156 7. Valladolid 130 8. Córdoba 126
9. Salamanca 123 10. Granada 119 11. Ciudad Real 109

It will be noted that, as always, Andalusia alone continues to claim well over half of all women who emigrated to the New World, and that the majority of these came from the single city of Seville. Here are the comparative percentages among female emigrants:

Period	Total Emigrants Identified	Total Number of Women	Percentage of Women	Andalusians Among Women
1493-1519	5,481	308	5.6%	67.0%
1520-1539	13,262	845	6.3%	58.3%
1540-1559	9,044	1,480	16.4%	50.4%
1560-1579	17,587	5,013	28.5%	55.4%

Missionaries and Clergy

Once again it must be pointed out that members of the clergy were not required to furnish information about their birthplace and parentage. Consequently the 458 whom I have identified represent only a portion of those who actually sailed. Old Castile, which in the period preceding furnished 15.4% of all emigrants to the New World but an astonishing 28.8% of the clergy, has dropped back to normal (11.3% of all emigrants vs. 12.4% of the clergy), while Andalusia's contribution has risen but is still below average. (32.5% of the clergy vs. 37.2% of all emigrants). It must be noted, however, that the presence among the Andalusian emigrants of 2,780 women, whose sex disqualified them as missionaries, would account for much of the discrepancy. Here are the figures on the emigration, by regions, of missionaries and clergy between 1560 and 1579: 1. Andalusia 149 (32.5%), 2. New Castile 102 (22.3%), 3. Extremadura 86 (18.8%), 4. Old Castile 57 (12.4%), 5. León 24 (5.2%), 6. The Basque Provinces 18 (4.0%),all others 22(4.8%). There were no Asturians and no foreigners. The five most important provinces were Seville 86, Cáceres 44,Badajoz 40, and Ciudad Real and Toledo with 36 each.

Servants

The changing pattern of emigration to the New World in the second half of the XVIth Century is marked by a steady increase in the number of persons emigrating not as independents but as servants in the retinue of some high-ranking official of Church or State. Already by the period immediately preceding (1540-59), almost one emigrant in ten was a servant. Among our present emigrants (1560-79) the proportion rises even higher, to 13.6% (2,390 out of 17,587). Curiously, the percentage of Andalusians among the servants (888 out of 2,390) is absolutely identical with that among emigrants as a whole: 37.2%! New Castile, with 19.0% of all emigrants, has 20.2% of the servants. Old Castile, with 11.3% of all emigrants, has a significantly higher proportion of servants (15.8%), while the percentage of servants from Extremadura is very low: only 9.3% (vs. 18.7% of emigrants as a whole). León and the

Basque Provinces both have a relatively high share of servants (León 6.6% and the Basques 4.3%). The leading provinces are Seville (677 servants), Toledo (289), Valladolid (152), Badajoz (139), and Madrid (107).

Destinations in America 1560-1579.

After briefly yielding first place to Peru between 1540 and 1559, Mexico once again becomes the most popular destination. Out of a total of 18,575 indications of destination mentioned,* Mexico claimed 7,209 (39.8%), Peru 3,913 (21.5%), New Granada 1,586 (8.7%), Santo Domingo 1,115 (6.1%), Tierra Firme or Panama 928 (5.1%), the Plate region (including Paraguay) 733 (4.0%), Chile only 488 (2.7%), Guatemala 478 (2.6%), Quito 291 (1.6%), Nicaragua 250 (1.4%), Florida 239 (1.3%), Costa Rica 226 (1.2%), Cuba 191 (1.1%), Venezuela 167 (0.9%), Puerto Rico 152 (0.8%), Yucatán 120 (0.7%), Trinidad and Tobago 46 (0.3%) and Tucumán 35 (0.2%).

We will now examine in turn each of the major destinations.

Emigration to New Spain (including New Galicia).

Over four-fifths (81%) of all fourth period emigrants to Mexico came from the Southern half of the Peninsula: Andalusia, Extremadura and New Castile. Among 7,218 new settlers identified, 3,174 (or 44.0%) were Andalusians, and of these Andalusians 2,209 or roughly 70% hailed from the province (and most often the city) of Seville. This high percentage of Andalusians among the settlers of Mexico continues a pattern established from the outset:

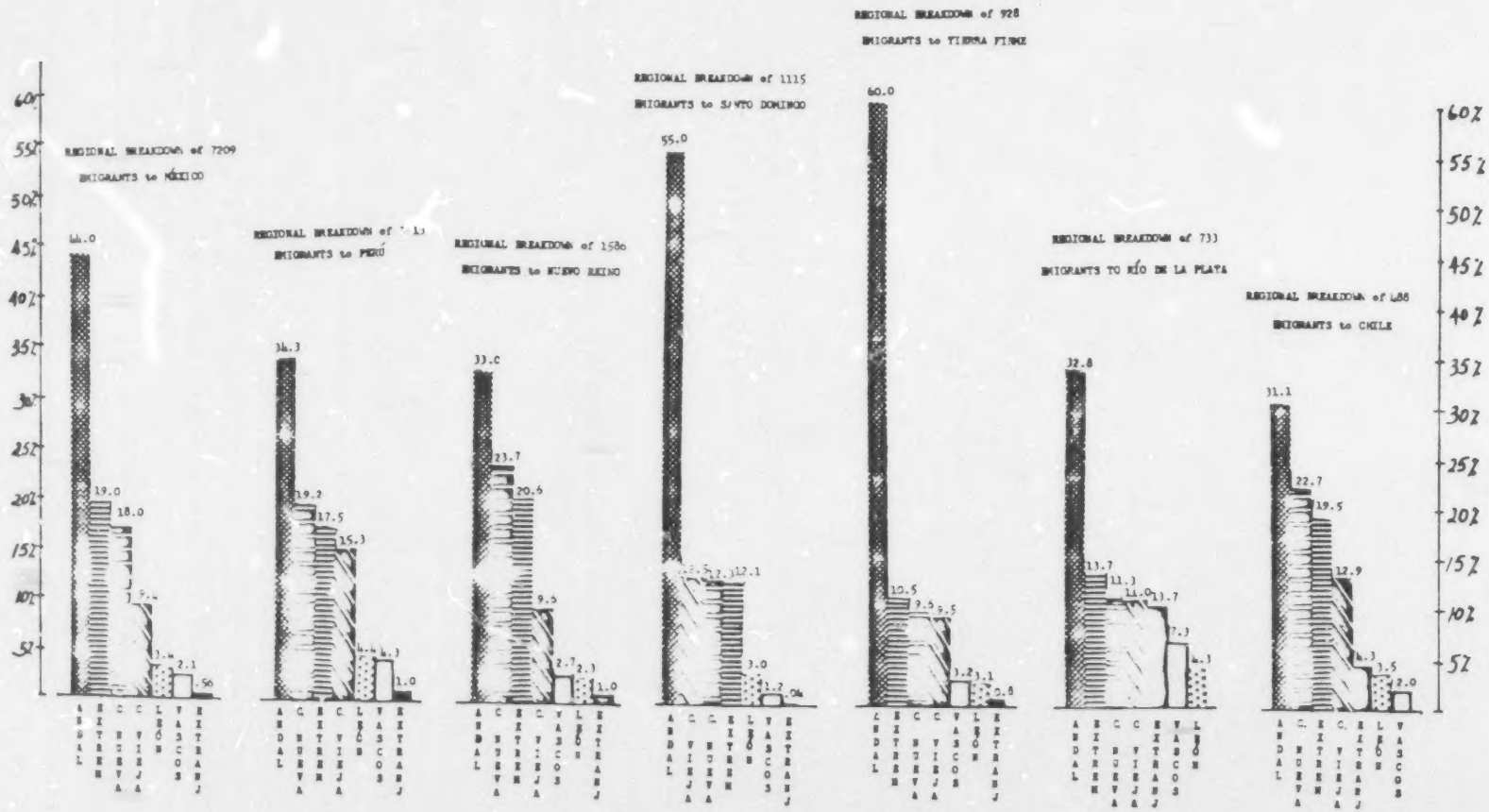
1520-39	1540-59	1560-79
35.0%	47.4%	44.0%

Extremadura and New Castile ranked second and third with 1,370 (19.0%) and 1,296 (18.0%) respectively. Old Castile, with only 690 (9.5%) was a poor fourth. León was a distant fifth with 244 (3.4%) followed by the Basque provinces with only 153 (2.1%). Emigration to Mexico from all other regions combined (Galicia 39, Asturias 30, Navarra 53, Aragon 38, Cataluña 19, Valencia 17, Murcia 30, the Canary Islands 25, and all foreigners 40), accounted for the remaining 4.0%.

The preponderance of Andalusians and Extremeños among emigrants to New Spain between 1560 and 1579 is one of the most striking features to emerge from the present study. Among the individual provinces Seville

*This figure, larger by 640 than the total number of emigrants counted, reflects the fact that some colonists settled first in one colony, then in another.

SETTLEMENT IN THE NEW WORLD
1560 - 1579



naturally stands above all the rest with 2,209, Badajoz is second with 1,066, Toledo third with 704, Cáceres fourth with 296, Cádiz fifth with 283, and Córdoba sixth with 205. Other important contributions were made by Huelva (196), Guadalajara (185), Ciudad Real (181), Madrid (174), and Valladolid (163).

Mexico City.

Old Castilians, who in the period 1560-79 constituted a mere 9.4% of the fresh emigrants to New Spain, comprised no less than 19.3% of the 342 new settlers identified for the viceregal capital itself. Andalusians, on the other hand, were much more poorly represented in the capital than in New Spain as a whole (26.7% vs. 44.0%). The same is true of the Extremeños (8.4% vs. 19.0%). Here is the breakdown: Andalusians 90 (26.7%), Old Castilians 66 (19.3%), New Castilians 63 (18.1%), Extremeños 29 (8.4%), Basques 24 (7.0%), Leonese and Navarrese 21 each (6.6%), all others together 28. It will be noted that the proportions of Leonese, Navarrese and Basques are all higher than for New Spain as a whole.

Among the individual provinces, Seville came first with 57, followed by Toledo with 31 and, curiously, Navarre with 21.

Emigration to Peru

Among 3,882 new emigrants to Peru during the period 1560-79, there were 1,339 Andalusians (34.5%), 751 New Castilians (19.3%), 684 Extremeños (17.6%), 598 Old Castilians (15.4%), 171 Leonese (4.4%), 167 Basques (4.3%), and 38 foreigners (1.0%). In addition we counted 28 Galicians, 24 Aragonese, 20 Navarrese, 20 Murcians, 13 Asturians, 13 Catalans, 10 Valencians, 5 Canary Islanders and 1 from the Balearics.

Foremost among the individual provinces were Sevilla 931, Toledo, 394, Badajoz 339, Cáceres 338, Valladolid 182, Madrid 167, and Burgos 114.

Lima 1560-79.

Up through 1559 Lima, the City of Kings, had had 690 inhabitants whom we were able to identify. Of these, a mere 27% were Andalusians, 17.4% were Old Castilians, 17% Extremeños, 15.6% New Castilians, a record 8.6% Basques, 4.8% Leonese, 3.9% foreigners, and all other combined 5.8%. For our fourth period (1560-79) we have identified the birthplace of another 497 emigrants who resided in Lima for varying lengths of time. For these the regional percentages are markedly different. While the proportion of Andalusians slowly climbs back to a more normal level, that of the Extremeños continues

LA EMIGRACIÓN AL PERÚ (1560-79)
ANÁLISIS POR PROVINCIAS DE 3913 COLONIZADORES
SANTANDER 33
VIZCAYA 32
GUIPÚZCOA 62
ALAVA 46
NAVARRA 20
LEÓN 46
BURGOS 114
LOGROÑO 49
PALENCIA 68
ZAMORA 35
VALLADOLID 182
SEGOVIA 57
SALAMANCA 80
GUADALAJARA 39
ÁVILA 79
MADRID 167
CUENCA 69
TOLEDO 394
CÁCERES 338
CIUDAD REAL 97
BADAJOZ 339
CÓRDOBA 91
JAÉN 48
HUELVA 86
SEVILLA 931
GRANADA 70
MÁLAGA 38
CÁDIZ 70
ENTRE 500 Y 1000
ENTRE 200 Y 500
ENTRE 100 Y 200
ENTRE 50 Y 100
ENTRE 20 Y 50

to drop sharply in the aftermath of the civil wars and that of the New Castilians jumps spectacularly, perhaps due to the influence of the viceroy Toledo himself.

Here are the figures: Andalusians 149 (29.9%), New Castilians 128 (25.8%), Old Castilians 85 (17.1%), Extremeños 66 (13.2%), Leonese 29 (5.9%), Basques 17 (3.4%), foreigners 8 (1.6%), all other combined 15 (3.1%).

Foremost among the individual provinces is Toledo with 89 new residents, followed closely by Seville with 87. Other provinces with sizeable contingents are Cáceres 37, Córdoba 33, Badajoz 27, Madrid 22, and Burgos 21.

Emigration to New Granada.

The third most popular destination in America between 1560 and 1579 was the New Kingdom of Granada, under which heading we have included also Popayán, Cartagena, Santa Marta and Cabo de la Vela.

Among 1,577 new emigrants we identified 539 Andalusians (34.2%), 366 New Castilians (23.2%), 327 Extremeños (20.7%), and only 153 Old Castilians (9.7%), 43 Basques (2.7%), and 36 Leonese (2.3%). There were also 27 Galicians (1.7%) and 20 foreigners (1.3%), all but one of them Portuguese. Valencia contributed 18 emigrants, Asturias 15, Navarre, Murcia and the Canaries 9 apiece, Aragon 4 and Catalonia just 2.

The leading provinces are Seville 306, Badajoz 223, Toledo 188, Huelva 104 and Cáceres 102.

Bogotá.

For Santa Fe de Bogotá, the capital of Nueva Granada, I could determine the provincial origin in Spain of only 101 new residents during this period, among them 39 Andalusians (38.6%), 16 New Castilians (15.8%), 15 Old Castilians (14.8%), 13 Extremeños (12.9%), 9 Basques (8.9%), and 5 Leonese (5.0%). Foremost among the individual provinces were, surprisingly, Huelva with 15 and Granada with 9. Next followed Valladolid with 8 and Cáceres, Córdoba and Sevilla with 7 each.

Cartagena.

In this period the flourishing port of Cartagena begins rather suddenly to attract large numbers of settlers. Between 1560 and 1579 no less than 300 new identified emigrants gave Cartagena as their destination, the overwhelming majority of them hailing from the southern half of Spain. There were 125 Andalusians (41.6% , vs. 37.2% for the New World as a whole), another 72 (24.0%) from New Castile,and another 49 (16.3%)from Extremadura for a combined

81.9%. There were only 23 Old Castilians (7.6%), 9 Leonese (3.0%), 8 Basques (2.7%), 6 foreigners (2.0%) of whom 5 were Portuguese and one a Corsican, 3 Galicians (1.0%), and only 5 from all other regions combined: Canary Islands 2;Asturias, Cataluña and Navarre 1 each.

One third of all the new settlers (96 of them) came from the single province of Seville, with Toledo furnishing another 40, and Cáceres and Badajoz 26 and 20 respectively. The key port of Cartagena, like that of Panama (q.v.) was, with its large population of sevillanos, well on its way to becoming an overseas extension of the great Andalusian metropolis.

Emigration to the Antilles.

Vulnerable as they were to repeated attacks by foreign pirates, the Antilles had early lost their appeal to prospective settlers, all but 8% of whom preferred in this period the relative security of the mainland. The passenger registries in Seville are filled with references to bonds which some of the emigrants were required to post to ensure that they would settle in one or the other of the islands without abandoning it soon afterwards for the greater attractions of New Spain or Peru.

Of the mere 1,458 identified emigrants to the Antilles (Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico, and Cuba) between 1560-79, three-fourths (1,115) went to Santo Domingo, Spain's oldest and best-established colony in the area. Here are comparative figures for the sixty-year period since 1520:

	1520-39	1540-59	1560-79
	out of 12,426 recorded destinations	out of 8,786 recorded destinations	out of 18,575 recorded destinations
Santo Domingo	1,372 (11.0%)	389 (4.4%)	1,115 (6.0%)
Cuba	195 (1.6%)	32 (0.3%)	191 (1.0%)
Puerto Rico	108 (0.9%)	51 (0.5%)	152 (0.8%)

As in previous periods, the islands' statistics reveal, next to Panama, the highest concentration of Andalusians anywhere in the New World. The trend is dramatic in both areas:

Immigration into Panama (Tierra Firme)

	1520-39	1540-59	1560-79
% Andalusians	33.0%	48.2%	59.9%

Immigration into Santo Domingo

% Andalusians	45.6%	47.5%	55.0%

For Cuba the figures are not as startling but still very high:

Immigration into Cuba

% Andalusians	41.0%	(--)*	46.7%

For Puerto Rico the pattern is somewhat different:

Immigration into Puerto Rico

% Old Castilians	30.6%	(--)*	12.5%
% Andalusians	26.9%	(--)	39.2%
% Extremeños	14.8%	(--)	17.8%

Though the proportion of Andalusians (39.2%) going to Puerto Rico has s finally risen above that of Andalusians to the Indies as a whole (37.2%) it still falls well short of those recorded for the other two islands. Puerto Rico was, between 1520-39, the only colony in the entire New World in which Andalusians did not predominate, but this pattern was quickly submerged by the one prevailing elsewhere.

The City of Santo Domingo

The port of Santo Domingo, as America's earliest Spanish city and the seat of its first Real Audiencia, was still attracting a large number of new settlers between 1560-79 despite the growing threat of pirate attacks. We counted 868, of whom well over half were Andalusians and roughly one third were from the single city of Seville! By regions we found 477 Andalusians (54.9%) easily the highest concentration of Andalusians anywhere in the New World, versus only 111 Extremeños (12.8%), 105 Old Castilians (12.1%), 92 New Castilians (10.6%) and 42 Leonese (4.8%). There were 8 Catalans, 7 Basques, 6 Gallegos, 5 from Murcia, 5 from the Canary Islands, 3 each from Asturias and Navarra, 2 Valencians and 2 Portuguese. Among the provinces Seville easily leads with 324 (37.3%), versus 74 for Badajoz, 49 for Huelva, 40 for Madrid, 37 for Cáceres, 35 for Salamanca, 30 for Toledo, 28 for Valladolid and 26 for Jaén.

Emigration to Tierra Firme (Panama, Nombre de Dios)

By 1575 Panama, the crossroads of commerce between Spain and Peru, had grown into a city of about 400 houses and some 500 vecinos, almost all of them wealthy merchants from Seville. /cf. M.M. de Peralta, Costa Rica, Nicaragua y Panamá en el siglo XVI, pp. 527-539, who cites the testimony of Dr. Alonso Criado de Castilla, an oidor of the Royal Audiencia in Panama at that time./

*Overall figures on emigration to Cuba and Puerto Rico during the years 1540-59 were too low to warrant a percentage analysis.

This fact is well supported by our statistics. Out of 927 identified emigrants who gave Tierra Firme or Panama as their destination in this period, 555 (or an astonishing 59.9%) were Andalusians, with Extremadura contributing only 97 (10.5%), New Castile 89 (9.6%), Old Castile 88 (9.5%), Vascongadas 30 (3.2%), León 29 (3.1%), all other regions combined only 39 (4.2%). Of the only seven foreigners, five were Portuguese.

Among the provinces, only four are worth mentioning: Seville, with 413 settlers, Badajoz with 64, Huelva with 54, and Cáceres with 32. If we compare the figures for Tierra Firme with those of the two earlier periods the trend toward Andalusian domination is clearly apparent:

Settlers of Tierra Firme:	1520-39	1540-59	1560-79
Andalusians:	316 (33%)	244 (48.2%)	555 (59.9%)
Extremeños:	211 (22%)	136 (26.9%)	97 (10.5%)
All others combined:	430 (45%)	126 (24.9%)	275 (29.6%)
	957 (100%)	506 (100%)	928 (100%)

The River Plate Region (including Paraguay)

Only 736 emigrants gave the Río de la Plata as their destination between 1560 and 1579. Of these 255 (34.6%) were Andalusians, 98 (13.3%) Extremeños, 81 (11.0%) New Castilians, and 79 (10.7%) Old Castilians. Right behind came the foreigners (always numerous in this region) with 78 (10.6%).* There were 52 Basques (7.1%), 31 Leonese (4.2%) and 27 Galicians (3.7%). The provinces rank as follows: 1. Seville (141) 2. Badajoz (62) 3. Toledo (35) 4. Cáceres and Cádiz (34 each), and Madrid (28).

Actually, all but 14 of our total of 736 emigrated from Spain in 1572 as members of a single expedition commanded by Juan Ortiz de Zárate, clear evidence that the Plate region was not naturally attractive to colonists at that time. On the contrary, it shared with Florida a reputation for being the graveyard of disastrous expeditions,** remote, inhospitable, full of warlike Indian tribes, and, worst of all, lacking in mineral wealth.

Chile

Another remote and highly unpopular region at this time was Chile. José

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*/The 78 new foreign settlers were composed of 45 Portuguese, 12 Azoreans, 7 Flemings, 4 Italians, 3 Dutchmen, 2 Genoese, 2 Greeks, 1 Sardinian, 1 Sicilian and 1 Levantine./

**/Magellan (1519), Cabot (1527), Alcazaba (1534), Mendoza (1536), Cabeza de Vaca (1541)./

Toribio de Medina's Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Chile: Segunda Serie (1558-1588) is full of official complaints to the effect that nobody wanted to go to Chile because of the costly and interminable war with the Araucanian Indians, the expense and hazards of the long journey by land or sea, the exorbitant cost of living, the lack of effective legal recourse (because of the enormous distances involved) against unjust or partisan decisions by high-placed officials, and many other factors.

In view of its bad reputation it is small wonder that Chile was in this period the destination of only 488 new settlers of known origin. Among these are counted 152 Andalusians (31.1%), 111 New Castilians (22.7%), 95 Extremeños (19.5%), 63 Old Castilians (12.9%), 21 foreigners (4.3%),* 17 Leonese (3.5%), 10 Basques (2.0%) and 8 Galicians (1.6%). Murcia and the Canaries sent 4 each, Asturias 2 and Aragón 1.

The principal provinces are: Badajoz (68), Ciudad Real (40), Toledo (29), Cáceres and Valladolid (23 each), and Granada (22).

Guatemala

Identified new settlers of Guatemala during the years 1560-79 number 478, of whom 197 (41.2%) were Andalusians, 97 (20.3%) New Castilians, 87 (18.2%) Old Castilians, and only 20 Extremeños (6.1%, an exceptionally low figure). We counted in addition 22 Basques (4.6%), 19 Leonese (4.0%), 6 Galicians, 6 foreigners, 4 Aragonese, 3 each from Navarre, Asturias and the Canaries, and 2 from Valencia. There were no Catalans at all. More than one new colonist in every five was a native of the province (and in most cases the city) of Seville (106 out of 478)! Other provinces were Toledo 62, Palencia 28 (21 of whom emigrated in 1569), Ciudad Real 25, and Valladolid and Málaga 20 each.

Summary

To sum up our distribution of emigrants among the major colonies in America, we present the following comparative tables for the years 1560-1579:

6,547 Andalusians distributed as follows:

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*/8 Portuguese, 6 Greeks, 2 Genoese, 2 other Italians, 2 Flemings and 1 Frenchman./

59.9% of the total of the new colonists of Panama
55.0% ..... Santo Domingo
44.0% ..... Mexico
41.2% ..... Guatemala
37.2% ..... the Indies
34.6% ..... Río de la Plata
34.5% ..... Peru
34.2% ..... Nueva Granada
31.1% ..... Chile

The percentage of Andalusians among the new settlers of Panama and Santo Domingo has risen sharply. As in the preceding period, we note the significantly higher proportion of Andalusians in Panama, New Spain, and the Antilles than in any part of the Southern Hemisphere.

3,343 New Castilians distributed as follows:

23.2% of the total of the new colonists of Nueva Granada
22.7% ..... Chile
20.3% ..... Guatemala
19.3% ..... Peru
19.0% ..... the Indies
18.0% ..... Mexico
12.3% ..... Santo Domingo
11.0% ..... Río de la Plata
9.6% ..... Panama

3,295 Extremeños distributed as follows:

20.7% of the total of the new colonists of Nueva Granada
19.5% ..... Chile
19.0% ..... Mexico
18.7% ..... the Indies
17.6% ..... Peru
13.3% ..... Río de la Plata
12.1% ..... Santo Domingo
10.5% ..... Panama
6.1% ..... Guatemala

1,984 Old Castilians distributed as follows:

18.2% of the total of the new colonists of Guatemala
15.4% ..... Peru
12.9% ..... Chile
12.5% ..... Santo Domingo
11.3% ..... the Indies
10.7% .....Río de la Plata
9.7% ..... Nueva Granada
9.5% ..... Panama
9.5% ..... Mexico

875 Leonese distributed as follows:

4.5% of the total of the new colonists of the Indies
4.4% ..... Peru
4.2% ..... Río de la Plata
4.0% ..... Guatemala
3.5% ..... Chile
3.4% ..... Mexico
3.1% ..... Panama
3.0% ..... Santo Domingo
2.3% ..... Nueva Granada

515 Basques distributed as follows:

7.1% of the total of the new colonists of Río de la Plata
4.6% ..... Guatemala
4.3% ..... Peru
3.2% ..... Panama
2.9% ..... the Indies
2.7% ..... Nueva Granada
2.1% ..... Mexico
2.0% ..... Chile
1.2% .....Santo Domingo

263 foreigners distributed as follows:

10.6% of the total of the new colonists of Río de la Plata
4.3% ..... Chile

1.5% ..... the Indies
1.3% ..... Nueva Granada
1.3% ..... Guatemala
1.0% ..... Peru
0.7% ..... Panama
0.6% ..... Mexico
0.1% ..... Santo Domingo

Once again we see that the proportion of foreigners is significant only in the southern half of South America, particularly in the Plate region.

179 Galicians distributed as follows:

3.7% of the total of the new colonists of Río de la Plata
1.7% ..... Nueva Granada
1.6% ..... Chile
1.3% ..... Guatemala
1.0% ..... the Indies
0.7% ..... Peru
0.7% ..... Santo Domingo
0.6% ..... Mexico
0.5% ..... Panama

From all the above tables it may be seen that in this period:

1) Panama featured the highest percentage of new Andalusians and the lowest of New Castilians.

2) New Granada had the highest percentage of fresh New Castilians and Extremeños, and the lowest of Leonese.

3) Guatemala attracted the highest percentage of new Old Castilians, the lowest of Extremeños.

4) The Río de la Plata continues to show the highest concentration of Gallegos, foreigners, and Basques.

Cumulative Data: 1493-1579

To summarize our statistical data on migration to the Indies in all four periods studied so far (I: 1493-1519; II: 1520-1539; III: 1540-1559: IV: 1560-1579) we offer (i) a cumulative table of the regional contributions between 1493 and 1579 (Chart 1), (ii) a cumulative ranking of the major contributing provinces, and (iii) a cumulative ranking of cities which by 1579 had each contributed 200 or more identified emigrants.

Conclusions

The appendixed tables reveal among other things that by 1579 (i) the Southern half of the Peninsula had, not surprisingly, contributed over twice as many colonists as the Northern half, (ii) well over a third of all colonists had been Andalusians, (iii) the contributions of Old and New Castile had been roughly equal, (iv) the Basques and Navarrese together had furnished less than 5%, the Galicians barely 1%, and the entire kingdom of Aragon (Aragon, Valencia, Baleares and Catalonia) together with Murcia barely 2%, (v) though the percentage of Canary Islanders had increased in each of the four periods (from 0.1% to 0.4%), the cumulative percentage continued to be insignificant not only in the registros de pasajeros but in the colonial sources also, and (vi) the percentage of foreigners, highest just before the middle of the century, had by 1579 dropped considerably but was still cumulately higher than that of the kingdom of Aragon.

Chart 1. Cumulative Totals by Province 1499-1579

1.	Sevilla	9852
2.	Badajoz	5168
3.	Toledo	3377
4.	Cáceres	2918
5.	Valladolid	1905
6.	Salamanca	1704
7.	Huelva	1701
8.	Burgos	1215
9.	Córdoba	1201
10.	Madrid	1186
11.	Cádiz	1149
12.	Ciudad Real	987
13.	Jaén	958
14.	Ávila	840
15.	Granada	764
16.	Segovia	745
17.	Palencia	728
18.	Guadalajara	697
19.	Guipúzcoa	539
20.	Málaga	514

Although we have not yet statistically analysed the patterns of emigration that developed during the XVIIth, XVIII, and later centuries, there is considerable evidence to suggest that eventually the flood of emigration from Andalusia and Extremadura subsided somewhat in favor of increased emigration from language and dialect areas of the North (Galicia, Asturias, Navarra, Aragon, Cataluña).

However the statistics for the XVIth Century leave little doubt that in the formation of the earliest Spanish dialect in the Antilles, which in turn formed the base for most of the early ones on the mainland, a decisive role was played by the Andalusian dialect of Castilian spoken by over half of all the Spanish-born women, over a third of all the men, and by the great majority of sailors and merchants who linked the Old World with the New.

FOOTNOTES

1. Boyd-Bowman, Peter: Indice geobiografico de 40,000 pobladores espanoles de America en el siglo XVI . Vol. I (1493-1519) Instituto Caro y Cuervo. Bogota, 1964. Vol. II (1520-1539). Editorial Jus, Mexico D.F., 1968. (Both volumes may be ordered from the Editorial Jus, Plaza de Abasolo Nº 14, Col. Guerrero, Mexico 3, D.F.) Vols. III (1540-59) and IV (1560-79) are typescripts ready for publication. The individual conquistadores and other colonists listed in the four volumes completed so far number over 45,000. There is also in preparation a fifth and final volume, covering the years 1580-99, which will conclude our systematic study of XVIth Century emigration to the New World. In addition we have published several articles on the same subject, both in English and in Spanish: "Regional Origins of the Earliest Spanish Colonists of America," PMLA (Dec. 1956), 1152-1163; "La procedencia regional de los primeros colonizadores espanoles de America," Mundo Hispanico. Madrid (Oct. 1957); "La emigracion peninsular a America: 1520-39," Historica Mexicana, (Dec. 1963), 165-92; "La procedencia de los espanoles de America: 1540-59," Historica Mexicana (Sept. 1967), 37-71, and others.

2. Records for the Antillean period (1493-1519) begin only in 1509 and even then are fragmentary in most years. In the next period (1520-39) the passenger lists for 1520-25 are totally missing and those for 1529-33 fragmentary also. The period 1540-59 is strangely lacking in passenger lists for virtually the entire period prior to 1554 (i.e. for the important years corresponding to the civil wars in Peru).

Cf. the three published volumes of the Catálogo de pasajeros a Indias (Vol. I: 1509-1534, Vol. II: 1535-1538, Vol. III: 1539-1559) C.S.I.C. Sevilla, 1940-46.

CUMULATIVE TOTALS BY REGIONS (1493-1579)

	1493 - 1519 I	1520 - 1539 II	1540 - 1559 III	1560 - 1579 IV	Total	Cumulative Percentage
1. Andalusia	2172 (39.7%)	4247 (32.0%)	3269 (36.1%)	6547 (37.2%)	16,235	35.8%
2. Extremadura	769 (14.1%)	2204 (16.6%)	1416 (15.7%)	3295 (18.7%)	7,684	16.9%
3. New Castile	483 (8.8%)	1587 (12.0%)	1303 (14.4%)	3343 (19.0%)	6,716	14.8%
4. Old Castile	987 (18.0%)	2337 (17.6%)	1390 (15.4%)	1984 (11.3%)	6,698	14.7%
5. Leon	406 (7.5%)	1004 (7.6%)	559 (6.2%)	875 (4.5%)	2,844	6.3%
6. Basque Provinces	257 (4.4%)	600 (4.5%)	396 (4.4%)	515 (2.9%)	1,768	3.9%
7. Foreigners	141 (2.6%)	557 (4.2%)	332 (3.7%)	263 (1.5%)	1,293	2.8%
8. Galicia	111 (2.0%)	193 (1.4%)	73 (0.8%)	179 (1.0%)	556	1.2%
9. Val., Cat. & Bal.	40 (0.7%)	131 (1.0%)	62 (0.7%)	113 (0.6%)	346	0.8%
10. Murcia	29 (0.5%)	122 (0.9%)	50 (0.5%)	96 (0.5%)	297	0.7%
11. Navarra	10 (0.2%)	71 (0.5%)	81 (0.6%)	112 (0.6%)	274	0.6%
12. Aragon	32 (0.6%)	101 (0.8%)	40 (0.4%)	99 (0.6%)	272	0.6%
13. Asturias	36 (0.7%)	77 (0.6%)	49 (0.5%)	90 (0.5%)	252	0.6%
14. Canarias	8 (0.1%)	31 (0.2%)	24 (0.3%)	75 (0.4%)	138	0.3%
	5,481	13,262	9,044	17,587	45,374	100.0%

CITIES WHICH BY 1579 HAD EACH SENT 200 OR MORE IDENTIFIED SETTLERS

1.	Sevilla	8,380
2	Toledo	1,110
3.	Salamanca	762
4.	Trujillo (Cáceres)	683
5.	Córdoba	673
6.	Madrid	619
7.	Granada	607
8.	Palos-Moguer (Huelva)	563
9.	Valladolid	506
10.	Jerez de la Frontera (Cádiz)	448
11.	Talavera (Toledo)	437
12.	Medina del Campo (Valladolid)	401
13.	Medellín (Badajoz)	390
14.	Segovia	378
15.	Burgos	375
16.	Zafra (Badajoz)	354
17.	Guadalcanal (Sevilla)	352
18.	Cáceres	338
19.	Ciudad Rodrigo (Salamanca)	307
20.	Ávila	296
21.	Badajoz	296
22.	Ciudad Real	273
23.	Plasencia	258
24.	Llerena (Badajoz)	255
25.	Écija (Sevilla)	253
26.	Mérida (Badajoz)	247
27.	Sanlúcar de Barrameda (Cádiz)	213
28.	Fregenal (Badajoz)	208
29.	Málaga	206
30.	Jaén	202
31.	Guadalajara	200
	TOTAL:	20,590

(i.e., 45.4% of the total number of all emigrants.)